STATE LIBRARY OF PENNSYLVANIA
3 0144 00379603 4

SR
CLASS 930 BOOK R65514

VOLUME 6

PENNSYLVANIA
STATE LIBRARY

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,
LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS,
&c. &c. &c.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF

ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS.

THE NINTH EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

DUNDEE:
PRINTED BY AND FOR J. CHALMERS, HIGHSTREET.

1800.

CONTENTS

OF THE

SIXTH VOLUME.

BOOK SIXTEENTH CONTINUED.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

SECT. V. Phocion's Death. Olympias causes Aridæus to be slain. She is murdered. Eumenes put to Death, 1
Sect. VI. The Death of young Alexander, Roxana, Hercules, Barsina, and Cleopatra, 29
Sect. VII. Demetrius the Son of Antigonus, besieges and takes Athens. The Consequences which follow, 44
Sect. VIII. Demetrius besieges Rhodes. Protogenes spared during the Siege, 57
Sect. IX. Expedition of Seleucus. Cassander compelled to raise the Siege of Athens. Antigonus slain, 73

CHAPTER II.

INCLUDING PART OF THE REIGNS OF PTOLEMY, THE SON OF LAGUS; AND PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

Sect. I. The four victorious Princes divide the Empire of Alexander the Great into as many Kingdoms, 79
Sect. II. Dispute between the two Sons of Cassander. Demetrius proclaimed King of Macedonia, 87
Sect. III. Ptolemy Soter resigns his Kingdom to his Son Ptolemy Philadelphus. Library of Alexandria founded, 97
Sect. IV. Magnificent Solemnity, at the Inauguration of Ptolemy Philadelphus King of Egypt, 103
Sect. V. Commencement of the Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Death of Demetrius Phalereus, 112
Sect. VI. Ptolemy Philadelphus causes the Books of the Holy Scripture, to be translated into Greek, 125
Sect. VII. The various Expeditions of Pyrrhus. He is slain at the Siege of Argos, 128
Sect. VIII. Athens taken by Antigonus. Ptolemy Philadelphus improves Commerce. His death, 162

CHAPTER III.

INCLUDING THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY EVERGETES.

Sect. I. Antiochus Theos is poisoned by his Queen Laodice. The Death of Seleucus, 178

178806

Sect. II. Character of Aratus, who delivers Sicyone from Tyranny. The Eſtabliſhment of the Achæans, 191
Sect. III. Agis attempts to reform Sparta. He is condemned to die, and executed accordingly, 207
Sect. IV. Cleomenes aſcends the Throne of Sparta. He reforms the Government, and re-eſtabliſhes the ancient Diſcipline, 223
Sect. V. Battle of Selaſia, wherein Antigonus defeats Cleomenes. A great earthquake at Rhodes, 240

BOOK SEVENTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS CONTINUED.

INCLUDING THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY PHILOPATER.

Sect. I. Antiochus takes the Strongeſt Cities in Cœloſyria. He is entirely defeated at the Battle of Raphia, 250
Sect. II. The Ætolians declare againſt the Achæans Battle of Caphyia. Unhappy Death of Cleomenes, 270
Sect. III. Various Expeditions of Philip. A Peace concluded between him and the Achæans, and the Ætolians, 277
Sect. IV. Philip concludes a Treaty with Hannibal. The Romans gain a conſiderable victory over him, 299
Sect. V. Education and great Qualities of Philopœmen, 311
Sect. VI. Expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius. A Digreſſion of Polybius upon Signals made by Fire, 319
Deſcription of the Inſtrument employed in Signals made by Fire, 317
Sect. VII. Philopœmen gains a famous Victory near Mantinæa, over Machanidas Tyrant of Sparta, 330
Sect. VIII. The glorious Expeditions of Antiochus. At his return, receives advice of Ptolemy Philopater's Death, 338

BOOK EIGHTEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS CONTINUED.

CHAPTER I.

INCLUDING PTOLEMY EPIPHANES'S REIGN.

Sect. I. Ptolemy Epiphanes ſucceeds Philopater in Egypt. Troubles which ſoon follow, 343
Sect. II. Expeditions of Sulpitius. Philip loſes a Battle. The Achæans declare for the Romans, 353
Sect. III. The Ætolians, and Nabis, declare for the Romans. Philip defeated, and a Peace concluded, 372
Sect. IV. The Romans ſend an Embaſſy to Antiochus. Conſpiracy againſt Ptolemy. Scopas put to Death, 390
Sect. V. Antiochus and the Romans prepare for War. The latter ſends Troops againſt Nabis. He is killed, 404
Sect. VI. Antiochus poſſeſſes himſelf of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The Romans proclaim War againſt him, 418

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
[illegible] is made possible [illegible] nt from the Institute of Museum and [illegible] Services as administered by the Penn[illegible] Educatio[illegible] Off[illegible] mmonwealth Libraries

[illegible] archive.org/details/vol8ancient8ste00roll_1

ASIA MINOR
and the Euxine Sea.
By Mr D'Anville
SCYTHIA
PALUS MÆOTIS
PONTUS EUXINUS
MÆSIA
THRACE
PHRAGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
CAUCASUS
Olbia
Hylæa
Carcine
Cherson
Durostorus
Odessus
Carambus
Amisenus Sinus
Polemonium
Sinopa
Trocmi
Morrisene
Archeria
Cataonia
Sebaste
Acilene
Bagemandene
Thospitis
Chorzene
Hobordene
Astaunites
Phasiani
Cabalia
Great Stadia valued at 92 Toises 2 Feet 8 Inches
Roman Miles valued at 725 Toises 1 Foot
French Leagues of 1000 Geometrical Paces

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS. CONTINUED.

PLAN.

This chapter contains the competition and wars that subsisted between the generals of Alexander, from the death of that prince to the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, which decided their several fates. These events include the space of 23 years, which coincide with the first 23 years of the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, from the year of the world 3681 to the year 3704.

SECTION V.

PHOCION'S DEATH—OLYMPIAS CAUSES ARIDAEUS TO BE SLAIN—SHE IS MURDERED—EUMENES PUT TO DEATH.

CASSANDER, before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had sent Nicanor thither, to succeed Menyllus in the government of the fortress of Munychia, soon after which he had made himself master of the Piræus*. Phocion, who had placed too much confidence in the probity and fidelity of Nicanor, had contracted a strict intimacy, and conversed frequently with him, which caused the people to suspect him more than ever.

In this conjuncture, Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of succouring the city against Nicanor, but in reality to seize it into his own power, if possible, in consequence of the divisions which then reigned within it. He there held a tumultuous assembly, in which Phocion was divested of his employment of general;

* Diod. l. xviii. p. 638—642.

while Demetrius Phalereus, with ſeveral other citizens who were apprehenſive of the ſame fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to ſee himſelf accuſed of treaſon, took ſanctuary with Polyſperchon, who ſent him back to be tried by the people. An aſſembly was immediately convoked on that occaſion, from which neither ſlaves, ſtrangers, nor any infamous perſons whatever, were excluded. This proceeding was contrary to all the eſtabliſhed rules, notwithſtanding which Phocion, and the other priſoners, were preſented to the people. Moſt perſons of any merit in the aſſembly, caſt down their eyes to the earth at this ſpectacle, and, covering their heads, wept abundantly. One among them having the courage to move, that the ſlaves and ſtrangers might be ordered to withdraw, was immediately oppoſed by the populace, who cried out, that they ought rather to ſtone thoſe advocates for oligarchy and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cauſe, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was cuſtomary at Athens, for the perſon accuſed to declare, before ſentence paſſed againſt him, what puniſhment he ought to ſuffer. Phocion anſwered aloud, that he condemned himſelf to die, but deſired the aſſembly to ſpare the reſt. Upon this the ſuffrages were demanded, and they were unanimouſly ſentenced to ſuffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeon. Demetrius Phalereus, and ſome others, though abſent, were included in the ſame condemnation. The companions of Phocion were ſo affected by the ſorrows of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the ſtreets, with the melancholy tender of the laſt farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears: but Phocion ſtill retained the ſame air and countenance, as he had formerly ſhown, when he quitted the aſſembly to take upon him the command of armies, and when the Athenians attended him in crowds to his own houſe with the voice of praiſes and acclamations.

One of the populace, more inſolent than the reſt, advanced up to him and ſpit in his face. Phocion only turned to the magiſtrates, and ſaid, "Will nobody hinder this man from act-
"ing ſo unworthily?" When he arrived at the priſon, one of his friends having aſked him if he had any meſſage to ſend to his ſon? "Yes, certainly," replied he, "it is to deſire, that he
"would never remember the injuſtice of the Athenians." When he had uttered theſe words, he took the hemlock, and died.

On that day there was alſo a public proceſſion, and as it paſ-

ſed

ſed before the priſon, ſome of the perſons who compoſed it took their crowns from their heads; others turned their eyes to the gates of the priſon, and burſt into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whoſe ſouls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledged it to be an inſtance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abſtained, on ſuch a ſolemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen ſo univerſally eſteemed, and whoſe admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of The Good.

To puniſh the greateſt virtues as the moſt flagitious crimes, and to repay the beſt of ſervices with the moſt inhuman treatment, is a guilt condemned in all places, but eſpecially in Athens, where ingratitude was puniſhable by the law. The regulations of her ſage legiſlator ſtill ſubſiſted at that time, but they were reſted to the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

The enemies of Phocion, not ſatisfied with the puniſhment they had cauſed him to ſuffer, and believing ſome particulars were ſtill wanting to complete their triumph, obtained an order from the people, that his body ſhould be carried out of the dominions of Attica, and that none of the Athenians ſhould contribute the leaſt quantity of wood to honour his funeral pile. Theſe laſt offices were therefore rendered to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who accidentally aſſiſted at his funeral with her ſervants, cauſed a cenotaph, or vacant tomb, to be erected to his memory on the ſame ſpot; and, collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which ſhe had carefully gathered up, ſhe conveyed them into her houſe by night, and buried them under her hearth, with theſe expreſſions: "Dear and ſacred hearth, I here confide to thee, and de-
"poſit in thy boſom, theſe precious remains of a worthy man.
"Preſerve them with fidelity, in order to reſtore them hereafter
"to the monument of his anceſtors, when the Athenians ſhall
"become wiſer than they are at preſent."

Though it may poſſibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjuſt, and cruel ſentences denounced in Athens againſt virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this laſt, it will, however, be always thought ſurpriſing, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after ſuch a ſeries of great actions, ſhould be capable of ſuch a ſtrange perverſity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, pro-

bity, and morals, reigned then at Athens. And there is sufficient foundation for the sentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare, that the people, when they are either destitute of guides, or no longer listen to their admonitions; and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once were checked, and are entirely abandoned to their impetuosity and caprice, ought to be considered as a blind, intractable, and cruel monster, ready to launch in a moment into the most fatal and opposite extremes, and infinitely more formidable than the most inhuman tyrants. What can be expected from such a tribunal? When people resolve to be guided by nothing but mere passion; to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws; the best, the justest, and most innocent of mankind will sink under an implacable and prevailing cabal This Socrates experienced almost a hundred years before Phocion perished by the same fate.

This last was one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced, in whose person every kind of merit was united. He had been educated in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the most perfect plan of pagan virtue, to which his conduct was always conformable.

It would be difficult for any person to carry disinterest higher than this extraordinary man; which appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches has a general always at the head of armies, who acts against rich and opulent enemies; sometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which seem to invite the plunderer! But Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any acquisition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people he had spared.

This excellent person, amidst all the severity which rendered him in more measure intractable when the interests of the republic were concerned, had so much natural softness and humanity, that his enemies themselves always found him disposed to assist them. It might even have been said, that he was a composition of two natures, whose qualities were entirely opposite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a public man, he armed himself with fortitude, and steadiness, and zeal; he could sometimes assume the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in supporting discipline in its utmost strictness. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual display of mildness and affability, condescension and patience,

ence, and was graced with all the virtues that can render the commerce of life agreeable. It was no inconſiderable merit, and eſpecially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two ſuch different characters in ſuch a manner, that as the ſeverity which was neceſſary for the preſervation of good order, was never ſeen to degenerate into the rigour that creates averſion in others; ſo the gentleneſs and complacency of his diſpoſition never ſunk into that ſoftneſs and indifference which occaſions contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern cuſtom of his country, which made war and policy two different profeſſions; and alſo for reſtoring the manner of governing of Pericles and Ariſtides, by uniting each of thoſe talents in himſelf.

As he was perſuaded, that eloquence was eſſential to a ſtateſman, and eſpecially in a republican government, he applied himſelf to the attainment of it with great aſſiduity and ſucceſs. His ſtyle was conciſe, ſolid, full of force and ſenſe, and cloſe to the point in queſtion. He thought it beneath a ſtateſman to uſe a poignant and ſatiric ſtyle, and his only anſwer to thoſe who employed ſuch language againſt him, was ſilence and patience. * An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expreſſions, he ſuffered him to continue in that ſtrain as long as he pleaſed, and then reſumed his own diſcourſe with as much coolneſs as if he had heard nothing.

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was forty-five times elected a general by a people to whoſe caprice he was ſo little inclinable to accommodate his conduct, and it is remarkable that theſe elections always happened when he was abſent, without any previous ſolicitations on his part. His wife was ſufficiently ſenſible how much this was for his glory; and one day when an Ionian lady of conſiderable rank, who lodged in her houſe, ſhowed her, with an air of oſtentation and pleaſure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, ſhe anſwered her with a modeſt tone, "For my part, I have no "ornament but Phocion, who, for theſe 20 years, has always "been elected general of the Athenians."

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed. When he was in his 80th year, he commanded the forces, and ſuſtained all the fatigues of war, with the vivacity of a young officer.

One of the great principles in the politics of Phocion was,

* Plut. de ger. rep. p. 810.

that

that peace ought always to be the aim of every wise government, and with this view, he was a constant opposer of all wars that were either imprudent or unnecessary. He was even apprehensive of those that were most just and expedient; because he was sensible, that every war weakened and impoverished a state, even amidst a series of the greatest victories, and that, whatever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of terminating it without experiencing the most tragical vicissitudes of fortune.

The interest of the public never gave way with him to any domestic views; he constantly refused to solicit, or act in favour of his son-in-law Charicles, who was summoned before the republic, to account for the sums he had received from Harpalus; and he then addressed himself to him with this admirable expression. "I have made you my son-in-law, but only for what is honest "and honourable." It must indeed be acknowledged, that men of this character seem very incommodious and insupportable in the common transactions of life: they are always starting difficulties, when any affair is proposed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire ease and grace. We must always deliberate, whether what we request of such persons be just or not. Their friends and relations have as little ascendant over them as utter strangers; and they always oppose either their conscience or some particular duties to ancient friendship, affinity, or the advantage of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the pagan probity.

One may justly apply to him what Tacitus said of a celebrated Roman, I mean Helvidius Priscus*. Phocion, who had as solid a genius as that person, applied himself at first to philosophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of a sage, but to qualify himself for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and resolution against all unexpected accidents. He concurred in opinion with those who acknowledged no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who ranked all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the class of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender husband, a good senator, a worthy citizen, and discharged all the offices of civil life with equal

* Ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut nomine magnifico segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita rempublicam capesseret. Doctores sapientiæ secutus est, qui sola bona quæ honesta, mala tantum quæ turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis annumerant—Civis, senator, maritus, amicus cunctis, vitæ, officiis, equabilis: opum contemptor, recti pervicax, constans adversus metus. Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 5.

merit.

merit. He preserved a steadiness of mind in prosperity that resembled stiffness and severity, and despised death as much as riches.

These are part of the great qualities of Phocion, who merited a happier end; and they were placed in their most amiable light by his death. The constancy of mind, the mildness of disposition, and the forgetfulness of wrongs conspicuous in his conduct on that occasion, are above all his other praises, and infinitely enhance their lustre, especially as we shall see nothing comparable to him from henceforth in the Grecian history.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not sensible of their unworthy proceeding till some time after his death. The Athenians then erected a statue of brass to his memory, and honourably interred his bones at the public expence. His accusers also suffered a punishment suitable to their desert; but did not his judges themselves deserve to be treated with greater severity than them? They punished their own crime in others, and thought themselves acquitted by a brazen statue. They were even ready to relapse into the same injustice against others, who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to acquit till after their death.

* Cassander was careful to improve the disorder that reigned in Athens, and entered the Piræus with a fleet of 35 vessels, which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themselves destitute of all succours, unanimously resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to know the conditions on which they might treat of a peace; and it was mutually agreed that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with its territories, and likewise of the revenues and ships. But they stipulated that the citadel should remain in the power of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republic, it was agreed, that those, whose income amounted to 10 minæ, or 1000 drachmæ, should have a share in the government, which was a less sum by half than that which was the qualification of public employments when Antipater made himself master of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants of that city permitted Cassander to choose what citizen he pleased to govern the republic, and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the close of the third year of the 105th Olympiad. The ten years government, therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have assigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.

* Diod. l. xviii. p. 642.

He

He governed the republic in peace; he conſtantly treated his fellow-citizens with all imaginable mildneſs and humanity; and hiſtorians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Caſſander. This prince ſeemed inclinable to tyranny, but the Athenians were not ſenſible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had conſtituted chief of the republic, was inveſted with a kind of ſovereign power, yet, inſtead of aboliſhing the democracy, he may rather be ſaid to have re-eſtabliſhed it. He acted in ſuch a manner that the people ſcarce perceived that he was maſter. As he united in his perſon the politician and the man of letters, his ſoft and perſuaſive eloquence demonſtrated the truth of an expreſſion he frequently uſed; that diſcourſe had as much power in government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally conſpicuous; for he produced ſpeculative philoſophy from the ſhade and inactivity of the ſchools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiarize her precepts with the moſt tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult, therefore, to have found a perſon capable of excelling like him in the art of government, and the ſtudy of the ſciences.

He acquired, during theſe 10 years of his government, that reputation which cauſed him to be conſidered as one of the greateſt men Athens has produced. He augmented the revenues of the republic, and adorned the city with noble ſtructures; he was likewiſe induſtrious to diminiſh luxury, and all expences which tended to the promotion of pride. For which reaſon he diſapproved of thoſe that were laid out in theatres*, porticoes, and new temples; and openly cenſured Pericles, for having beſtowed ſuch a prodigious ſum of money on the magnificent porticoes of the temple of Pallas, called † Propylæa. But in all public feaſts which had been conſecrated by antiquity, or when the people were inclinable to be expenſive in the celebration of any ſacred ſolemnities, he permitted them to uſe their riches as they pleaſed.

‡ The expence was exceſſive at the death of great perſons, and their ſepulchres were as ſumptuous and magnificent as thoſe of the Romans in the age of Cicero. Demetrius made a law to aboliſh this abuſe, which had paſſed into a cuſtom, and inflicted penalties on thoſe who diſobeyed it. He alſo ordered the cere-

* Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundius reprehendo propter Pompeium: ſed doctiſſimi improbant—ut Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Græciæ, vituperabat quod tantam pecuniam in præclara illâ propylæa conjecerit. Cic. l. ii. de. Offic. n. 60.

† Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 818. ‡ Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 63—66.

monials

monials of funerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, but a column three cubits high, or a plain table, *menſam;* and he appointed a particular magiſtrate to enforce the obſervation of this law.

* He likewiſe made laws for the regulation of manners, and commanded young perſons to teſtify reſpect for their parents at home; and in the city to thoſe whom they met in their way, and to themſelves, when they were alone.

† The poor citizens were likewiſe the objects of his attention. There were at that time in Athens, ſome of the deſcendants of Ariſtides, that Athenian general, who, after he had poſſeſſed the greateſt offices in the ſtate, and governed the affairs of the treaſury for a conſiderable time, died ſo poor, that the public was obliged to defray the charges of his funeral. Demetrius took care of thoſe deſcendants, who were poor, and aſſigned them a daily ſum for their ſubſiſtence.

‡ Such, ſays Ælian, was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the ſpirit of envy, ſo natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner we ſhall ſoon relate.

The advantageous teſtimonials rendered by ancient authors of the greateſt repute, not only of his extraordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewiſe his virtue, and the wiſdom of his conduct, is a plain refutation of all that has been advanced by Athenæus, on the authority of the hiſtorian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment; and ſtrengthens the conjecture of M. Bonamy, who ſuppoſes, that Duris, or Athenæus, have imputed that to Demetrius Phalereus, which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the ſon of Antigonus, to whom Ælian aſcribes the very particulars which Athenæus had cited from Duris. § The reader may have recourſe to the diſſertation of M. Bonamy, which has been very uſeful to me in the courſe of this work.

‖ During the 105th Olympiad Demetrius Phalereus cauſed the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to 21,000 citizens, 10,000 ſtrangers, and 40,000 domeſtics **.

†† We now return to Polyſperchon. When he had received intelligence, that Caſſander had made himſelf maſter of Athens,

* Diog. Laert. † Plut. in vit. Ariſt. p. 535. ‡ Ælian, l. iii. c. 17.
§ Tom. VIII. des Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres.
‖ Athen. l. vi. p. 272.
** The words in the original are μυριάδας τεσσαρακοντα, forty myriads, which are equal to 400,000, which is an evident miſtake, and it undoubted ought to be read τέσσαρας, four myriads, which amount to 40,000.
†† Diod. l. xviii. p. 642—646.

he

he immediately haſtened to beſiege him in that city; but as the ſiege took up a great length of time, he left part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the reſt into Peloponneſus to force the city of Megara to ſurrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous defence, which compelled Polyſperchon to employ his attention and forces on thoſe quarters to which he was called by more preſſing neceſſities. He diſpatched Clitus to the Helleſpont, with orders to prevent the enemy's troops from paſſing out of Aſia into Europe. Nicanor ſet ſail at the ſame time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himſelf defeated near Byzantium. Antigonus having advanced in a very ſeaſonable juncture, made himſelf amends for this loſs, beat Clitus, and took all his fleet, except the veſſel of Clitus, which eſcaped with great difficulty.

* Antigonus was moſt embarraſſed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes, whoſe valour, wiſdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable to him than all the reſt, though he had been beſieged and blocked up, for twelve months, in the caſtle of Nora. He therefore made a ſecond attempt to engage him in his intereſt, for he had taken meaſures to that effect before he formed that ſiege. He accordingly conſigned this commiſſion to Jerom of Cardia, his countryman, and a famous hiſtorian of that time †, who was authoriſed by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adverſary. Eumenes conducted this negotiation with ſo much dexterity and addreſs, that he extricated himſelf from the ſiege, at the very juncture wherein he was reduced to the laſt extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inſerted in the oath, which Eumenes was to ſwear in conſequence of this accommodation, that he would conſider all thoſe as his friends and enemies, who ſhould prove ſuch to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and ſwore that he would regard all thoſe as his friends and enemies, who ſhould be ſuch to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He then deſired the Macedonians who aſſiſted at the ſiege, to determine, which of theſe two forms was beſt; and as they were guided by their affection to the royal family, they declared, without the leaſt heſitation, for the form drawn up by Eumenes; upon which he ſwore to it, and the ſiege was immediately raiſed.

* Plut. in Eumen. p. 590.

† He compiled the hiſtory of thoſe who divided the dominions of Alexander among themſelves, and it likewiſe comprehended the hiſtory of their ſucceſſors.

When

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was so dissatisfied with it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and gave orders for the siege to be instantly renewed. These orders however came too late, for as soon as Eumenes saw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to 500 men, and saved himself in Cappadocia, where he immediately assembled 2000 of his veteran soldiers, and made all the necessary preparations for sustaining the war, which he foresaw would soon be revived against him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings having occasioned a great alarm, Polysperchon the regent dispatched to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, a commission, by which he was constituted captain-general of Asia Minor; orders were likewise sent to Teutames and Antigenes, colonels of the Argyraspides, to join, and serve under him, against Antigonus. The necessary orders were also transmitted to those who had the care of the kings' treasures, to pay him 500 talents, for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and likewise to furnish him with all the sums that would be necessary to defray the expence of the war. All these were accompanied with letters from Olympias.

*Eumenes was very sensible that the accumulation of all these honours, on the head of a stranger, would infallibly excite a violent envy against him, and render him odious to the Macedonians: but as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and since the good of the service itself made it necessary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began with refusing the sums that were granted him for his own use, declaring that he had no occasion for them, because he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterprise of that tendency. He was studious to treat every person about him, the officers, and even the soldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to extinguish, as much as possible, or at least to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealousy to which his condition, as a stranger, afforded a plausible pretext, though he endeavoured not to draw it upon him by any conduct of his own.

But an impediment, still more invincible in appearance, threw him under a restraint, and created him very cruel inquietudes. Antigenes and Teutames, who commanded the Argyraspides, thought it dishonourable to their nation, to submit to a stranger, and refused to attend him in council. On the other hand, he

* A. M. 3686. Ant. J. C. 318. Diod. l. xviii. p. 635, 636, et 663. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591—593. Cor. Nep. c. 7.

could

could not, without derogating from the prerogatives of his poſt, comply with them in that point, and conſent to ſuch a degradation. An ingenious fiction diſengaged him from this perplexity and he had recourſe to the aids of religion, or rather ſuperſtition, which has always a powerful influence over the minds of men, and ſeldom fails of accompliſhing its effect. He aſſured them, "That Alexander, arrayed in his royal robes, had appeared to him in his ſlumber, and ſhown him a magnificent tent in which a throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to him, that while they held their counſels in that tent, to deliberate on their affairs, he himſelf would always be preſent, ſeated on that throne; from whence he would iſſue his orders to his captains, and that he would conduct them in the execution of all their deſigns and enterpriſes, provided they would always addreſs themſelves to him." This diſcourſe was ſufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound reſpect they entertained for the memory of that prince: in conſequence of which they immediately ordered a ſplendid tent to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called the Throne of Alexander; and on this were to be laid his diadem and crown, with his ſceptre and arms; that all the chiefs ſhould reſort thither every morning to offer ſacrifices; that their conſultations ſhould be held near the throne, and that all orders ſhould be received in the name of the king, as if he were ſtill living, and taking care of his kingdom. Eumenes calmed the diſpute by this expedient, which met with unanimous approbation. No one raiſed himſelf above the others; but each competitor continued in the enjoyment of his privileges, till new events decided them in a more poſitive manner.

*As Eumenes was ſufficiently ſupplied with money, he ſoon raiſed a very conſiderable body of troops, and had an army of 20,000 men, in the ſeaſon of ſpring. Theſe forces, with Eumenes at their head, were ſufficient to ſpread terror among his enemies. Ptolemy ſailed to the coaſts of Cilicia, and employed all ſorts of expedients to corrupt the Argyraſpides. Antigonus, on his part, made the ſame attempts by the emiſſaries he had in his camp; but neither the one nor the other could ſucceed then; ſo much had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his ſoldiers, and ſo great was the confidence they repoſed in him.

He advanced with theſe affectionate troops, into Syria, and Phœnicia, to recover theſe provinces which Ptolemy had ſeized

* Diod. l. xviii. p. 636—638.

with

with the greateſt injuſtice. The maritime force of Phœnicia, in conjunction with the fleet which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them abſolute maſters by ſea, and they might likewiſe have been capable of tranſmitting all neceſſary ſuccours to each other. Could Eumenes have ſucceeded in this deſign, it would have been a deciſive blow; but the fleet of Polyſperchon having been entirely deſtroyed by the miſconduct of Clitus, who commanded it, that misfortune rendered his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, againſt Eumenes, with an army much more numerous than that of the latter. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Cœloſyria, after which he paſſed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Carres in Meſopotamia.

* During his continuance in thoſe parts, he ſent to Pithon, governor of Media, and to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to preſs them to join him with their forces againſt Antigonus, and cauſed the orders of the kings to be ſhown them, by which they were enjoined to comply with his demand. They anſwered, that they were ready to aſſiſt thoſe monarchs; but that, as to his own particular, they would have no tranſactions with a man who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more prevalent motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and ſubjecting their troops to his command, they muſt alſo have acknowledged the ſovereign power of the regent, as well as of thoſe who were maſters of the royal pupils, and made uſe of their names, to render their own power more extenſive. Pithon and Seleucus muſt therefore, by inevitable conſequence, have owned, that they held their governments only from thoſe kings, and might be diveſted of them at their pleaſure, and by virtue of the order to that effect, which would have deſtroyed all their ambitious pretences with a ſingle ſtroke.

Moſt of the officers of Alexander who had ſhared the governments of the empire amongſt themſelves after his death, were ſolicitous to ſecure themſelves the ſupreme power in their ſeveral provinces; for which reaſon they had choſen a perſon of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the title of ſovereign, in order to have ſufficient time to eſtabliſh their uſurpations under a weak government. But all theſe meaſures would have been diſconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an

* Diod. l. xix. 660, 661.

aſcendant over them, with ſuch an air of ſuperiority, as ſubjected them to his orders. He iſſued them, indeed, in the name of the kings; but this was a circumſtance they were deſirous of evading, and at the ſame time it created him ſo many enemies and obſtructions. They were alſo apprehenſive of the merit and ſuperior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greateſt and moſt difficult enterpriſes. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greateſt ſhare of wiſdom and bravery, and was alſo the moſt ſteady in his reſolutions; for he never broke his engagements with any of thoſe commanders, though they did not obſerve the ſame fidelity with reſpect to him.

Eumenes marched from Babylonia the following ſpring, and was in danger of loſing his army by a ſtratagem of Seleucus. The troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus, by cutting the bank from that river, laid all the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was ſo expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means, the next day, to drain off the inundation ſo effectually, that he purſued his march almoſt without ſuſtaining any loſs.

* Seleucus was then reduced to the neceſſity of making a truce with him, and of granting him a peaceable paſſage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Suſa, where he diſpoſed his troops into quarters of refreſhment, while he ſolicited all the governors of the provinces in Upper Aſia for ſuccours. He had before notified to them the order of the kings, and thoſe whom he had charged with that commiſſion, found them all aſſembled, at the cloſe of a war they had undertaken in concert againſt Pithon the governor of Media. This Pithon having purſued the very ſame meaſures in the Upper Aſia, which Antigonus had formed in the Lower, had cauſed Philotas to ſuffer death, and made himſelf maſter of his government. He would likewiſe have attempted to treat the reſt in the ſame manner, if they had not oppoſed him by this confederacy, which the common intereſt had formed againſt him. Peuceſtes, governor of the province of Perſia, had the command in chief conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were ſtill in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Suſa to join him: not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but becauſe they were more apprehenſive than ever of being ſubjected to the victorious An-

* Diod. l. xix. 662—664. Plut. in Eumen.

tigonus,

tigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either divested of their employments all such governors as he suspected, or reduced them to the state of mere officers, liable to be removed and punished at his pleasure.

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces, which composed an army of above 20,000 men. With this reinforcement, he saw himself not only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but still much superior in the number of his troops. The season was far advanced, when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tigris, and was obliged to take winter-quarters in Mesopotamia: where, with Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, he concerted measures for the operations of the next campaign.

* During these transactions, Macedonia was the scene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Polysperchon had recalled, had made herself absolute mistress of affairs, and caused Aridæus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of king for six years and four months, to be put to death. Eurydice his consort sustained the same fate; for Olympias sent her a dagger, a cord, and a bowl of poison, and only allowed her the liberty of choosing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then strangled herself, after she had uttered a thousand imprecations against her enemy and murderess. Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and 100 of the principal friends of the latter, likewise suffered death.

These repeated barbarities did not long remain unpunished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, and Decidamia, the daughter of Æacides king of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander did not lose any time, but advanced thither, and besieged them by sea and land. Æacides prepared to assist the princesses, and was already upon his march; but the greatest part of his forces, who were averse to that expedition, revolted from the king, and condemned him to banishment, when they returned to Epirus. They likewise massacred all his friends; and Pyrrhus, the son of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have suffered the same fate, if a set of faithful domestics had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Cassander, who sent Lysicius thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no resource but only from Polysperchon, who was then in Perrhœbia, a small province on the confines of

* A. M. 3687. Ant. J. C. 317. Diod. l. xix. p. 659, 660.

Ætolia, and was preparing to ſuccour her; but Caſſander ſent Callas, one of his generals, againſt him, who corrupted the greateſt part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he beſieged him. Olympias, who had ſupported all the miſeries of famine with an invincible courage, having now loſt all hopes of relief, was compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Caſſander, in order to deſtroy her in a manner that might give the leaſt offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers, whom Olympias had cauſed to be ſlain during her regency, to accuſe her in the aſſembly of the Macedonians, and to ſue for vengeance for the cruelties ſhe had committed. The requeſt of theſe perſons was granted; and when they had all been heard, ſhe was condemned to die, though abſent, and no one interpoſed his good offices in her defence. After ſentence of death had paſſed, Caſſander propoſed to her, by ſome friends, to retire to Athens, promiſing to accommodate her with a galley to convey her thither, whenever ſhe ſhould be ſo diſpoſed. His intention was to deſtroy her in her paſſage by ſea, and to publiſh through all Macedonia, that the gods, amidſt their diſpleaſure at her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves: for he was apprehenſive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was therefore deſirous of caſting upon Providence all the odious circumſtances of his own perfidy.

Olympias, whether ſhe had been advertiſed of Caſſander's deſign, or whether ſhe was actuated by ſentiments of grandeur, ſo natural to perſons of her rank, imagined her preſence alone would calm the ſtorm, and anſwered, with an imperious air, that ſhe was not a woman who would have recourſe to flight, and inſiſted on pleading her own cauſe in the public aſſembly; adding, this was the leaſt favour that could be granted a queen, or rather, that it was an act of juſtice, which could not be refuſed to perſons of the loweſt rank. Caſſander had no inclination to conſent to this demand, having reaſon to be apprehenſive, that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmoſt veneration, would create a ſudden change in their reſolutions; he therefore ſent 200 ſoldiers entirely devoted to his will, with orders to deſtroy her: but as reſolute as they were in themſelves, they were incapable of ſupporting the air of majeſty which appeared in the eyes and aſpect of that princeſs; and retired without executing their commiſſion. It became neceſſary, therefore, to employ in this murder, the relations of thoſe whom ſhe had cauſed to ſuffer death; and they were tranſported at the opportunity of gratifying their vengeance

vengeance in making their court to Caſſander. Thus periſhed the famous Olympias, the daughter, the ſiſter, the wife, and the mother of kings, and who really merited ſo tragical a period of her days, in conſequence of all her crimes and cruelties; but it is impoſſible to ſee her periſh in this manner, without deteſting the wickedneſs of a prince who deprived her of life in ſo unworthy a manner.

* Caſſander already beheld an aſſured paſſage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition; but he thought it incumbent on him to have recourſe to other meaſures, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt the viciſſitudes of time, the inconſtancy of the Macedonians, and the jealouſy of his competitors. Theſſalonica, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great, being qualified by her illuſtrious birth, and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendſhip of the grandees, and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by eſpouſing her, to attach them in a peculiar manner to himſelf, in conſequence of the eſteem and reſpect they teſtified for the royal family.

There was ſtill one obſtacle more to be ſurmounted, without which Caſſander would have always been deemed an uſurper, and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander, the ſon of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was ſtill living, and had been acknowledged king, and the lawful heir to the throne. It became neceſſary therefore to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Caſſander†, emboldened by the ſucceſs of his former crime, was determined to commit a ſecond, from whence he expected to derive all the fruit of his hopes. Prudence, however, made it neceſſary for him to ſound the diſpoſition of the Macedonians, with reſpect to the death of Olympias; for if they ſhowed themſelves inſenſible at the loſs of that princeſs, he might be certain that the death of the young king and his mother would affect them as little. He therefore judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advance by moderate ſteps, to the execution of his ſcheme: in order to which, he began with cauſing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the caſtle of Amphipolis, by a good eſcort commanded by Glaucias, an officer entirely devoted to his intereſt. When they arrived at that fortreſs, they were diveſted of all regal honours, and treated rather like private perſons, whom important motives of ſtate made it neceſſary to ſecure.

* Diod. l. xix. p. 695—697.

† Haud ignarus ſumma ſcelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio. Tacit.

He intended, by his next ſtep, to make it evident, that he claimed ſovereignty in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias ſtill more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obſequies of king Philip, or Aridæus, and queen Eurydice his wife, who had been murdered by the directions of Olympias. He commanded the uſage of ſuch mourning as was cuſtomary in ſolemnities of that nature, and cauſed the royal remains to be depoſited in the tombs appropriated to the ſepulture of the Macedonian kings; affecting by theſe exteriors of diſſembled ſorrow, to manifeſt his zeal for the royal family, at the ſame time that he was meditating the deſtruction of the young king.

Polyſperchon, in conſequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the exaltation of Caſſander to the throne of Macedonia, had ſheltered himſelf in Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he ſuſtained a ſiege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconſiderable body of troops, to paſs into Theſſaly, in order to join ſome forces of Æacides; after which he advanced into Ætolia, where he was greatly reſpected. Caſſander followed him cloſely, and marched his army into Bœotia, where the ancient inhabitants of Thebes were ſeen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city, which was once ſo powerful, and had been razed to its foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years, he endeavoured to reinſtate it in its primitive ſplendor; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expence, and ſeveral towns and cities of Italy, Sicily, and Greece, beſtowed conſiderable ſums on that occaſion by voluntary contributions. By which means Thebes, in a ſhort ſpace of time, recovered its ancient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and munificence of Caſſander, who was juſtly conſidered as the father and reſtorer of that city.

When he had given proper orders for the re-eſtabliſhment of Thebes, he advanced into Peloponneſus againſt Alexander the ſon of Polyſperchon, and marched directly to Argos, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance, upon which all the cities of the Meſſenians, except Ithome, followed that example. Alexander, terrified at the rapidity of his conqueſts, endeavoured to check them by a battle; but Caſſander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more adviſeable to retire into Macedonia, after he had left good garriſons in the places he had taken.

As

* As he knew the merit of Alexander, he endeavoured to disengage him from the party of Antigonus, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all Peloponnesus, with the command of the troops stationed in that country. An offer so advantageous was accepted by Alexander, without any hesitation; but he did not long enjoy it, having been unfortunately slain soon after, by some citizens of Sicyone, where he then resided, who had combined to destroy him. This conspiracy, however, did not produce the effects expected from it; for Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander, whose heart was a composition of grandeur and fortitude, instead of manifesting any consternation at the sight of this fatal accident, and as she was beloved by the soldiers, and honoured by the officers, whom she had always obliged and served, repressed the insolence of the Sicyonians, and defeated them in a battle; after which she caused 30 of the most mutinous among them to be hung up; appeased all the troubles which had been excited by the seditious in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with a wisdom that acquired her the admiration of all those who heard any mention of her conduct.

† Whilst Cassander was employing all his efforts to establish himself on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting measures to rid himself of a dangerous enemy; and, having taken the field the ensuing spring, he advanced to Babylon, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from Pithon and Seleucus, and then passed the Tigris to attack Eumenes; who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much superior to Antigonus in the number of his troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander; though the other was far from being defective in those qualifications; for, next to Eumenes, he was undoubtedly the best general and ablest statesman of his time.

‡ Eumenes had this misfortune, that his army being composed of different bodies of troops, with the governors of provinces at their head, each of them pretended to the command in chief. Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, every one of those governors thought himself, for that reason, his superior. We may add to this, that the pomp, splendor, and magnificence affected by them, seemed to leave an infinite distance between him and them who assumed the air of real Satrapæ. They imagined, in consequence of a mistaken and ill timed

* Diod. l. xix. p. 705—708. † A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316.
‡ Diod. l. xix. p. 669—672. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591, 592.

ambition,

ambition, but very cuſtomary with great men, that to give ſumptuous repaſts, and add to them whatever may exalt pleaſure and gratify ſenſe, were part of the duties of a ſoldier of rank; and eſtimating their own merit by the largeneſs of their revenues and expences, they flattered themſelves that they had acquired, by their means, an extraordinary credit, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the conſideration and eſteem for them imaginable.

* A circumſtance happened at this time, which ought to have undeceived them. As the ſoldiers were marching in queſt of the enemy, Eumenes, who was ſeized with a dangerous indiſpoſition, was carried in a litter, at a conſiderable diſtance from the army, to be more remote from the noiſe, and that he might enjoy the refreſhment of ſlumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had made ſome advance, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the riſing grounds, they halted on a ſudden, and began to call for Eumenes. At the ſame time, they caſt their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers, that they would not proceed on their march till Eumenes came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, haſtening the ſlaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each ſide of his litter: He then ſtretched out his hands to the ſoldiers, and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately ſaluted him in the Macedonian language, reſumed their bucklers, claſhed upon them with their pikes, and broke forth into loud acclamations of victory and defiance to their enemies, as if they deſired only to ſee their general at their head.

When Antigonus received intelligence that Eumenes was ill, and cauſed himſelf to be carried in a litter, in the rear of the army, he advanced, in hopes that his diſtemper would deliver his enemy into his hands; but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their chearful aſpects, the diſpoſition of their army, and particularly the litter, which was carried from rank to rank, he burſt into a loud vein of laughter, in his uſual manner, and addreſſing himſelf to one of his officers—"Take "notice," ſaid he, "of yonder litter; it is that which has drawn "up thoſe troops againſt us, and is now preparing to attack us." And then, without loſing a moment's time, he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and returned to his camp.

Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occaſion, that they judged all the other Satrapæ exceed-

* A. M. 3989. Ant. J. C. 315.

ingly

ingly well qualified to give ſplendid entertainments, and diſpoſe great feaſts, but that they eſteemed Eumenes alone capable of commanding an army with ability. This is a ſolid and ſenſible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications; and points out the falſe taſte for glory, and the injudiciouſneſs of thoſe officers and commanders, who are only ſtudious to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the army by magnificent collations, and place their principal merit in ſurpaſſing others in luxury, and frequently in ruining themſelves without thanks by thoſe ridiculous expences. I ſay without thanks, becauſe nobody thinks himſelf obliged to them for their profuſion, and they are always the worſt ſervants of the ſtate.

* The two armies having ſeparated without any previous engagement, encamped at the diſtance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and ſeveral large pools of water between them; and as they ſuſtained great inconveniences, becauſe the whole country was eaten up, Antigonus ſent ambaſſadors to the Satrapæ and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them, at the ſame time, the moſt magnificent promiſes to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his propoſals, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, with ſevere menaces, in caſe they ſhould preſume to make any ſuch for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very ancient fable. "A lion entertaining a paſſion for a young virgin, demanded her one day in marriage of "her father, whoſe anſwer was, that he eſteemed this alliance a "great honour to him, and was ready to preſent his daughter "to him; but that his large nails and teeth made him apprehenſive leſt he ſhould employ them a little too rudely upon her, if "the leaſt difference ſhould ariſe between them with relation to "their houſehold affairs. The lion, who was paſſionately fond of "the maid, immediately ſuffered his claws to be pared off, and "his teeth to be drawn out. After which the father caught "up a ſtrong cudgel, and ſoon drove away his intended ſon-in-"law. This," continued Eumenes, "is the aim of Antigonus. "He amuſes you with mighty promiſes, in order to make himſelf "maſter of your forces; but when he has accompliſhed that "deſign, he will ſoon make you ſenſible of his teeth and "claws."

† A few days after this event, ſome deſerters from the army of Antigonus having acquainted Eumenes, that that general

* Diod. l. xix. p. 672, 673. † Ibid. p. 672.

was

was preparing to decamp the next night, about the hour of nine or ten in the evening, Eumenes at firſt ſuſpected, that his intention was to advance into the province of Gabene, which was a fertile country, capable of ſubſiſting numerous armies, and very commodious and ſecure for the troops, by reaſon of the inundations and rivers with which it abounded, and therefore he reſolved to prevent his execution of that deſign. With this view he prevailed, by ſums of money, upon ſome foreign ſoldiers, to go like deſerters into the camp of Antigonus, and acquaint him, that Eumenes intended to attack him the enſuing night. In the mean time he cauſed the baggage to be conveyed away, and ordered the troops to take ſome refreſhment, and then march. Antigonus, upon this falſe intelligence, cauſed his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus was ſoon informed by couriers, that he had decamped, and finding that he had been over-reached by his enemy, he ſtill perſiſted in his firſt intention; and having ordered his troops to ſtrike their tents, he proceeded with ſo much expedition, that his march reſembled a purſuit. But when he ſaw that it was impoſſible to advance with his whole army up to Eumenes, who had gained upon him, at leaſt ſix hours, in his march, he left his infantry under the command of Pithon, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear-guard of the enemy, who were deſcending a hill. He then halted on the top, and Eumenes, who diſcovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army; upon which he diſcontinued his march, and formed his troops in order of battle. By theſe means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amuſed him in his turn; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry ſufficient time to come up.

The two armies were then drawn up; that of Eumenes conſiſted of 35,000 foot, with above 6000 horſe, and 114 elephants. That of Antigonus was compoſed of 28,000 foot, 8,500 horſe, and 65 elephants. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy till the night was far advanced (for the moon was then in the full), but the ſlaughter was not very conſiderable on either ſide. Antigonus loſt 3,700 of his infantry, and 54 of his horſe, and above 4000 of his men were wounded. Eumenes loſt 540 of his infantry, and a very inconſiderable number of his cavalry, and had above 900 wounded. The victory was really on his ſide; but as his troops, notwithſtanding all his entreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which among the ancients was an evi-

dence

dence of victory, it was in consequence attributed to Antigonus, whose army appeared again in the field, and buried the dead. Eumenes sent a herald the next day, to desire leave to inter his slain: This was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all possible magnificence.

A very singular dispute arose at the performance of this ceremony. The men happened to find among the slain, the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately married. The law of the country, which is said to be still subsisting, would not allow a wife to survive her husband; and if she refused to be burned with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and she was obliged to continue in a state of widowhood the remainder of her days. She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, was rendered incapable of assisting at any sacrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, extended only to one wife; but, in the present instance, there were two; each of whom insisted on being preferred to the other. The eldest pleaded her superiority of years; to which the youngest replied, that the law excluded her rival, because she was then pregnant; and the contest was accordingly determined in that manner. The first of them retired with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and habit, as if she had sustained some great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mein of joy and triumph, amidst a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richest ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a solemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there distributed all her jewels among her friends and relations; and, having taking her last farewell, she placed herself on the funeral pile, by the assistance of her own brother, and expired amidst the praises and acclamations of most of the spectators; but some of them, according to the historian, disapproved of this strange custom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murder, and might justly be considered a violation of the most express law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a person's own life; and commands us not to dispose of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a deposit, which ought to be resigned to none but that Being from whom we received it. Such a sacrifice is so far from deserving to be enumerated among the instances of respect and amity due to her husband, that he is rather treated as an unrelenting

lenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of such precious victims.

* During the course of this campaign, the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies traversed those two great provinces by marches and counter-marches, and each party had recourse to all the art and stratagems that the greatest capacity, in conjunction with a long series of experience in the profession of war, could supply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained however several advantages over his enemies in this campaign; and when his troops grew impatient for winter-quarters, he had still the dexterity to secure the best in all the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to seek his to the north in Media, where he was incapable of arriving, till after a march of 25 days.

† The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable, that he could not prevail upon them to post themselves near enough to each other, to be assembled on any emergency. They absolutely insisted on very distant quarters, which took in the whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of having every thing in greater abundance. In a word, they were dispersed to such a distance from each other, that it required several days for reassembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to surprise these different bodies so dispersed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man to be surprised in such a manner, but had the precaution to dispatch, to various parts, spies mounted on dromedaries, the swiftest of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions, and he had posted them so judiciously, that he received information of this march, before Antigonus could arrive at any of his quarters; this furnished him with an expedient to save his army by a stratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as lost. He posted the troops who were nearest to him on the mountains that rose toward the quarter from whence the enemy were advancing, and ordered them, the following night, to kindle as many fires, as might cause it to be imagined all the army were encamped in that situation. Antigonus was soon informed, by his advanced guard, that those fires were seen at a great distance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was there encamped with all

* Diod. l. xix. p. 682—684.
† Diod. p. 684—688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 592. Cor. Nep. c. viii—xii.

his

his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expose his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement with fresh troops, he caused them to halt, that they might have time to recover themselves a little; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was necessary, for assembling his forces, before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus, finding his scheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus over-reached, determined to come to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all assembled about him, were struck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and resolved that he should exercise the sole command. Antigenes and Teutames, the two captains who led the Argyraspides, were so exceedingly mortified at a distinction so glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the Satrapæ and principal officers into their conspiracy. Envy is a malady that seldom admits of a cure, and is generally heightened by the remedies administered to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condescension, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of those Barbarians, and extinguishing their jealousy; and he must have renounced his merit and virtue, which occasioned it, to have been capable of appeasing them. He frequently lamented to himself his unhappiness in being fated to live, not with men, as his expression was, but with brute beasts. Several conspiracies had already been formed against him, and he daily beheld himself exposed to the same danger. In order to frustrate their effects, if possible, he had borrowed, on various pretexts of pressing necessity, many considerable sums of those who appeared most inveterate against him, that he, at least, might restrain them, by the consideration of their own interest, and an apprehension of losing the sums they had lent him, should he happen to perish.

His enemies, however, being now determined to destroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means of accomplishing their intentions. They all agreed to protract his fall, till after the decision of the impending battle, and then to destroy him near the spot where it was fought. Eudemus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phædimus, to acquaint Eumenes with this resolution, not from any affection to his person, but only from their apprehensions of losing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes returned them his thanks, and highly applauded their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burned all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, becauſe he was unwilling that thoſe who had favoured him with any ſecret intelligence, ſhould be expoſed to any accuſation or prejudice after his death. When he had thus diſpoſed of his affairs, and found himſelf alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to purſue. It was then a thouſand contrary thoughts agitated his mind. Could it poſſibly be prudent in him, to repoſe any confidence in thoſe officers and generals, who had ſworn his deſtruction. Might he not lawfully arm againſt them the zeal and affection of the ſoldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him? On the other hand, would it not be his beſt expedient, to paſs through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his reſidence; where he might hope for a ſure aſylum from danger? Or, in order to avenge himſelf on thoſe traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the criſis of the battle, and reſign the victory to his enemies? For in a ſituation ſo deſperate as his own, what thoughts will not riſe up in the mind of a man reduced to the laſt extremity by a ſet of perfidious traitors! This laſt thought, however, infuſed a horror into his ſoul; and as he was determined to diſcharge his duty to his lateſt breath, and to combat, to the cloſe of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cauſe, he reſigned his deſtiny, ſays Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had 36,700 foot, and above 6000 horſe, with 400 elephants. The army of Antigonus was compoſed of 22,000 foot, 9000 horſe, with a body of Median cavalry, and 65 elephants. This general poſted his cavalry on the two wings, his infantry he diſpoſed in the centre, and formed his elephants into a firſt line, which extended along the front of the army, and he filled up the intervals between the elephants with light-armed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon; that of the right he aſſigned to his ſon Demetrius, where he was to act in perſon, at the head of a body of choſen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almoſt in the ſame manner; his beſt troops he diſpoſed into the left wing, and placed himſelf in their front, in order to oppoſe Antigonus, and gave the command of the right to Philip.

Before the armies began the charge, he exhorted the Greeks and Barbarians to perform their duty well; for as to his phalanx, and the Argyraſpides, they ſo little needed any animating expreſſions, that they were the firſt to encourage him with aſſurances, that the enemy ſhould not wait a moment for them. They were

were the oldeſt troops, who had ſerved under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats; they had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action; for which reaſon, they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely with this exclamation: "Villains! you now fight "with your fathers!" They then broke in upon the infantry with irreſiſtible fury: not one of the battalions could ſuſtain the ſhock, and moſt of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with reſpect to the cavalry, for as the engagement between them began on a ſandy ſoil, the motion of the men and horſes raiſed ſuch a thick gloom of duſt, as made them incapable of ſeeing to the diſtance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkneſs, detached from his cavalry a body of troops ſuperior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the ſame time broke in upon their horſe. Peuceſtes, who commanded them, and, till then, had given a thouſand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the reſt after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them, but in vain; the confuſion was univerſal in that quarter, as the advantage had been complete in the other. The capture of the baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes; for the ſoldiers of the latter, finding, at their return, all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, inſtead of employing their ſwords againſt the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promiſed to accompliſh, they turned all their fury againſt their own general.

Having choſen their time, they fell upon him, forced his ſword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promiſed to reſtore them all their baggage on that condition. "Kill me, O ſoldiers," ſaid Eumenes, as he paſſed by them, "kill me yourſelves, I con"jure you in the name of all the gods! for though I periſh by "the command of Antigonus, my death will however be as "much your act as if I had fallen by your ſwords. If you are "unwilling to do me that office with your own hands, permit "me, at leaſt, to diſcharge it by one of mine. That ſhall ren"der me the ſervice which you refuſe me. On this condition "I abſolve you from all the ſeverities you have reaſon to appre"hend from the vengeance of the gods, for the crime you are "preparing to perpetrate on me."

Upon this they haſtened him along, to prevent the repetition of ſuch pathetic addreſſes, which might awaken the affection of the troops for their general.

Moſt of the ſoldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and left ſcarce a ſingle man in his camp. When that illuſtrious priſoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to ſee him, becauſe his preſence alone would have reproached him in the higheſt degree. As thoſe who guarded him aſked Antigonus in what manner he would have him kept: "As you would an "elephant," replied he, "or a lion," which are two animals moſt to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compaſſion, and ordered him to be eaſed of the weightieſt of his chains; he likewiſe appointed one of his own domeſtics to ſerve him, and permitted his friends to ſee him, and paſs whole days in his company. They were alſo allowed to furniſh him with all neceſſary refreſhments.

Antigonus deliberated with himſelf for ſome time, in what manner he ſhould treat his priſoner. They had been intimate friends, when they ſerved under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity rekindled ſome tender ſentiments in his favour, and combated for a while his intereſt. His ſon Demetrius alſo ſolicited ſtrongly in his favour; paſſionately deſiring, in mere generoſity, that the life of ſo great a man might be ſaved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his inflexible fidelity for the family of Alexander, and knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of diſconcerting all his meaſures, ſhould he eſcape from his hands, was too much afraid of him to grant him his life, and therefore ordered him to be deſtroyed in priſon.

Such was the end of the moſt accompliſhed man of his age in every particular, and the worthieſt to ſucceed Alexander the Great. He had not, indeed, the fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truly brave without temerity; and prudent without weakneſs. His deſcent was but mean, though he was not aſhamed of it, and he gradually roſe to the higheſt ſtations, and might even have aſpired to the throne, if he had either had more ambition or leſs probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, ſpirited by a motive moſt capable of affecting a human heart, I mean the thirſt of empire, knew neither ſincerity nor fidelity, nor had any reſpect to the ties of blood, or the rights of friendſhip, but trampled on the moſt ſacred laws; Eumenes always retained an inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no viciſſitudes of fortune, nor any elevation, had power to

ſhake.

ſhake. This very character of probity rendered him inſupportable to his colleagues; for it frequently happens*, that virtue creates enmities and averſions, becauſe it ſeems to reproach thoſe who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.

He poſſeſſed all the military virtues in a ſupreme degree; or, in other words, he was a complete maſter in the art of war, as well as of fortitude, foreſight, a wonderful fertility of invention for ſtratagems and reſources in the moſt unexpected dangers, and moſt deſperate conjunctures: But I place in a much nobler light, that character of probity and thoſe ſentiments of honour, which prevailed in him, and were always inſeparable from the other ſhining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit ſo illuſtrious and univerſal, and at the ſame time ſo modeſt, which ought to have excited the eſteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence and inflamed their envy; a defect too frequently viſible in perſons of high rank. Theſe Satrapæ, full of themſelves, ſaw with jealouſy and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themſelves, had aſcended by degrees to the moſt exalted ſtations, which they imagined due only to thoſe who were dignified with great names, and deſcended from ancient and illuſtrious families: as if true nobility did not conſiſt in merit and virtue.

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obſequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and conſented to render him the utmoſt honours; his death having extinguiſhed all their envy and fear. They depoſited his bones and aſhes in an urn of ſilver, and ſent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia; a poor compenſation for a deſolate widow and her helpleſs orphans!

SECTION VI.

THE DEATH OF YOUNG ALEXANDER, ROXANA, HERCULES, BARSINA, AND CLEOPATRA.

ANTIGONUS†, concluding that he ſhould be maſter of the empire of Aſia for the future, made a new regulation in the eaſtern provinces, for his better ſecurity. He diſcarded all the governors he ſuſpected, and advanced to their places thoſe perſons in whom he thought he might confide. He even deſtroyed ſe-

* Induſtriæ innocentiæque quaſi malis artibus infenſi—etiam gloria ac virtus infenſos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diverſa arguens. Tacit.

† A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. Diod. l. xix. p. 689—692. et 697, 698.

veral who had rendered themſelves formidable to him by too much merit. Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraſpides, were among theſe latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewiſe minuted down in his liſt of proſcriptions, but he found means to eſcape the danger, and threw himſelf under the protection of Ptolemy king of Egypt. As for the Argyraſpides, who had betrayed Eumenes, he ſent them into Arachoſia, the remoteſt province in the empire, and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take ſuch meaſures as might deſtroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The juſt horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this reſolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treaſon without the leaſt ſcruple or remorſe; but a motive ſtill more prevalent determined him chiefly to this proceeding. Theſe ſoldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averſe to all obedience; their example, therefore, was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of deſtroying him, by a new inſtance of treachery; he therefore was reſolved to exterminate them without heſitation.

* Seleucus knew how to repreſent the formidable power of Antigonus ſo effectually to Ptolemy, that he engaged him in a league with Lyſimachus and Caſſander, whom he had alſo convinced, by an expreſs, of the danger they had reaſon to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very ſenſible that Seleucus would not fail to ſolicit them into meaſures againſt his intereſt, for which reaſon he ſent an embaſſy to each of the three, to renew the good intelligence between them by new aſſurances of his friendſhip. But what confidence could be repoſed in ſuch aſſurances from a perfidious man who had lately deſtroyed ſo many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone at the expence of all his colleagues? The anſwers therefore which he received, made him ſufficiently ſenſible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war: upon which he quitted the eaſt, and advanced into Cilicia with very conſiderable treaſures, which he had drawn from Babylon and Suſa. He there raiſed new levies, regulated ſeveral affairs in the provinces of Aſia Minor, and then marched into Syria and Phœnicia.

† His deſign was to diveſt Ptolemy of theſe two provinces, and make himſelf maſter of their maritime forces, which were abſolutely neceſſary for him in the war he was preparing to under-

* A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314. Diod. l. xix. p. 698—700.
† Diod. l. xix. p. 700—703.

take

take againſt the confederates; for unleſs he could be maſter at ſea, and have at leaſt the ports and veſſels of the Phœnicians at his diſpoſal, he could never expect any ſucceſs againſt them. He, however, arrived too late to ſurpriſe the ſhips; for Ptolemy had already ſent to Egypt all that could be found in Phœnicia, and it was with difficulty that Antigonus made himſelf maſter of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, oppoſed him with all their forces. The two laſt, indeed, were ſoon taken, but a conſiderable length of time was neceſſary for the reduction of Tyre.

However, as he was already maſter of all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia, he immediately gave orders for building veſſels, and a vaſt number of trees were cut down, for that purpoſe, on mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar, and cypreſs-trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ſhips were to be built, in which work he employed ſeveral thouſand men. In a word, with theſe ſhips, and others that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and ſome particular cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a conſiderable fleet, and rendered himſelf maſter of the ſea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an affront he had received from Seleucus, who, with 100 ſhips that Ptolemy had ſent him, ſailed up to Tyre, in ſight of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him whilſt he was engaged in the ſiege of that city. And in reality, this inſult had greatly diſcouraged his troops, and given his allies ſuch an impreſſion of his weakneſs, as was very injurious to him. In order, therefore, to prevent the effect of thoſe diſadvantageous opinions, he ſent for the principal allies, and aſſured them he would have ſuch a fleet at ſea that ſummer, as ſhould be ſuperior to the naval force of all his enemies, and he was punctual to his promiſe before the expiration of the year.

* But when he perceived, that while he was thus employed in Phœnicia, Caſſander gained upon him by land in Aſia Minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the reſt with his ſon Demetrius, who was then but 22 years of age, to defend Syria and Phœnicia againſt Ptolemy. This Demetrius will be much celebrated in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and I ſhall ſoon point out his particular character.

† Tyre was then reduced to the laſt extremities; the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of proviſions, and the city was ſoon obliged to capitulate. The garriſon which Ptolemy

* A. M. 3691. Ant. J. C. 313. † Diod. l. xix. p. 703.

had

had there, obtained permiſſion to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promiſed the enjoyment of theirs without moleſtation. Andronicus, who commanded at the ſiege, was tranſported with gaining a place of ſuch importance on any conditions whatever; and eſpecially after a ſiege which had haraſſed his troops ſo exceedingly for fifteen months.

It was no longer than nineteen years before this event, that Alexander had deſtroyed this city, in ſuch a manner as made it natural to believe it would require whole ages to re-eſtabliſh it; and yet in ſo ſhort a time it became capable of ſuſtaining this new ſiege, which laſted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumſtance diſcovers the great reſources derived from commerce; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre roſe out of its ruins, and recovered moſt of its former ſplendor. This city was then the centre of all the traffic of the Eaſt and Weſt.

* Demetrius, who now began to be known, and will for the future be furnamed Poliorcetes†, which ſignifies Taker of Cities, was the ſon of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. A pleaſing ſweetneſs, blended with gravity, was viſible in his aſpect, and he had an air of ſerenity, intermixed with ſomething which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth in him was tempered with a majeſtic mien, and an air truly royal and heroic. The ſame mixture was likewiſe obſervable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and aſtoniſh. When he had no affairs to tranſact, his intercourſe with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the ſumptuoſity inſeparable from his feaſts, luxury, and his whole manner of living; and it may be juſtly ſaid, that he was the moſt voluptuous and delicate of all princes. On the other hand, as alluring as all theſe ſoft pleaſures might appear to him, when he had any enterpriſe to undertake, he was the moſt active and vigilant of mankind: nothing but his patience and aſſiduity in fatigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the ſtage of action.

Plutarch remarks in him, as a peculiarity which diſtinguiſhed him from the other princes of his time, his profound reſpect for his parents, which neither flowed from affectation or ceremony, but was ſincere and real, and the growth of the heart itſelf.

* Plut. in Demet. p. 889—890.

† The word is derived from πολιορκεῖν, to beſiege a city, whoſe root is πόλις, a city, and ἕρκος, a fence, a trench, a bulwark.

Antigonus,

Antigonus, on his part, had a tenderneſs and affection for his ſon, that was truly paternal, and extended even to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the ſovereign and the father; and this created an union and confidence between them, entirely free from all fear and ſuſpicion. Plutarch relates an inſtance of it to this effect. One day, when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to ſome ambaſſadors, Demetrius, returning from the chace, advanced into the great hall, where he ſaluted his father with a kiſs, and then ſeated himſelf at his ſide, with his darts in his hand. Antigonus had juſt given the ambaſſadors their anſwer, but he ordered them to be introduced a ſecond time; "You may likewiſe inform your maſters," ſaid he, "of "the manner in which my ſon and I live together." Intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his ſon approach him with arms*, and that this good intelligence, that ſubſiſted between him and his ſon, conſtituted the greateſt ſtrength of his dominions, at the ſame time that it affected him with the moſt ſenſible pleaſure. But to return to our ſubject.

† Antigonus having paſſed into Aſia, ſoon ſtopped the progreſs of Caſſander's arms, and preſſed him ſo vigorouſly, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation, on very honourable terms; but the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his acceſſion to it, and broke it, by demanding ſuccours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renewing the war. The violation of treaties was conſidered as nothing, by the generality of thoſe princes whoſe hiſtory I am now writing. Theſe unworthy expedients, which are juſtly thought diſhonourable in private perſons, appeared to them as ſo many circumſtances eſſential to their glory. They applauded themſelves for their perfidious meaſures, as if they had been inſtances of their abilities in government, and were never ſenſible that ſuch proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave them deſtitute of any pretext of complaint againſt their own ſubjects, who, by revolting from their authority, only trod in the ſame paths which they themſelves had already marked out.

By ſuch contagious examples, a whole age is ſoon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a bluſh, all ſentiments of honour and probity, becauſe that which is once become common, no longer appears ſhameful.

The renewal of this war detained Antigonus in thoſe parts

* Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in war, or when they hunted.

† Diod. l. xix. p. 10.

longer

longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining conſiderable advantages over him in another quarter.

* He firſt ſailed with his fleet to the iſle of Cyprus, and reduced the greateſt part of it to his obedience. Nicocles, king of Pathos, one of the cities of that iſland, ſubmitted to him like the reſt, but made a ſecret alliance with Antigonus, a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding, and, in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, he ordered ſome of his officers in Cyprus to deſtroy him; but they being unwilling to execute that commiſſion themſelves, earneſtly entreated Nicocles to prevent it by a voluntary death. The unhappy prince conſented to the propoſal, and ſeeing himſelf utterly deſtitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded thoſe officers to treat the queen Axithea, and the other princeſſes whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the reſpect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate king. The queen, after ſhe had ſlain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princeſſes not to ſurvive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own boſom. The death of theſe princeſſes was ſucceeded by that of their huſbands, who, before they ſlew themſelves, ſet fire to the four corners of the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody ſcene which was acted at Cyprus.

Ptolemy, after he once became maſter of that iſland, made a deſcent into Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great ſpoils, and took a large number of priſoners, whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in perſon with a fine army, after he had happily ſuppreſſed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who oppoſed his entrance into that place. This occaſioned a ſharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at laſt victorious. Demetrius had 5000 of his men killed, and 8000 more made priſoners: he likewiſe loſt his tents, his treaſure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia on the frontiers of Upper Syria, and to abandon all Phœnicia, Paleſtine, and Cœloſyria, to Ptolemy.

Before his departure from Azotus, he deſired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but alſo ſent him back

* Died. l. xx. p. 761.

all

all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends, and domeſtics, without any ranſom, and cauſed it to be declared to him, "That they "ought not to make war againſt each other for riches, but for "glory;" and it was impoſſible for a Pagan to think better. May we not likewiſe ſay, that he uttered his real ſentiments? Demetrius, touched with ſo obliging an inſtance of generoſity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for ſo great a benefaction, but to furniſh him with an opportunity of returning him one of a like nature.

Ptolemy ſent the reſt of the priſoners into Egypt, to ſerve him in his fleet, and then purſued his conqueſts. All the coaſt of Phœnicia ſubmitted to him, except the city of Tyre; upon which he ſent a ſecret meſſage to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the braveſt officers of Antigonus, and the moſt attached to the ſervice of his maſter, to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to beſiege it in form. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrians' fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty, and even an inſulting and contemptuous anſwer to Ptolemy; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garriſon and inhabitants compelled him to ſurrender. He then imagined himſelf inevitably loſt, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the inſolence with which he had treated him; but he was deceived again. The king of Egypt, inſtead of any repriſals upon an officer who had inſulted him with ſo much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his ſervice by the regard he profeſſed for him, when he was introduced to ſalute him.

Demetrius was not diſcouraged with the loſs of the battle, as a young prince who had been ſo unfortunate in his firſt enterpriſe might naturally have been; but he employed all his attention in raiſing freſh troops and making new preparations, with all the ſteadineſs and reſolution of a conſummate general, habituated to the art of war, and to the inconſtancy and viciſſitudes of arms; in a word, he fortified the cities, and was continually exerciſing his ſoldiers.

Antigonus received intelligence of the loſs of that battle without any viſible emotion, and he coldly ſaid, "Ptolemy has de- "feated boys, but ſhall ſoon have men to deal with;" and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his ſon, he complied with his requeſt of making a ſecond trial of his forces againſt Ptolemy.

* Some time after this event, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, ar-

* A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

rived

rived with a numerous army, fully perſuaded that he ſhould drive Demetrius out of Syria; for he had entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat: but Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumſpect and attentive, fell upon him when he leaſt expected it, and made himſelf maſter of his camp and all his baggage, took 7000 of his men priſoners, even feized him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by this victory, affected him leſs than the pleaſure of being in a condition to acquit himſelf with reſpect to his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He could not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he ſhould judge proper. Upon which he immediately ſent back Cilles, with all his friends, laden with magnificent preſents, and all the baggage he had taken. There is certainly ſomething very noble in contending with an enemy in this generous manner; and it was a diſpoſition ſtill more eſtimable, eſpecially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory, to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no meaſures in ſuch a conjuncture without conſulting him.

*Seleucus, after the victory obtained over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained 1000 foot and 300 horſe from Ptolemy, and proceeded with this ſmall eſcort to the Eaſt, with an intention to reenter Babylon. When he arrived at Carræ in Meſopotamia, he made the Macedonian garriſon join his troops, partly by conſent, and partly by compulſion. As ſoon as his approach to Babylon was known, his ancient ſubjects came in great numbers to range themſelves under his enſigns, for the moderation of his government had rendered him greatly beloved in that province; whilſt the ſeverity of Antigonus was univerſally deteſted. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-eſtabliſhment. When he arrived at Babylon, he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the people. Thoſe who favoured the party of Antigonus, retired into the caſtle; but as Seleucus was maſter of the city, and the affections of the people, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of that fortreſs, and there found his children, friends, and domeſtics, whom Antigonus had detained priſoners in that place from the retreat of Seleucus into Egypt.

It was immediately judged neceſſary to raiſe a good army to

* Diod. l. xix. p. 726—728.

defend

defend these acquisitions, and he was hardly reinstated in Babylon, before Nicanor, the governor of Media under Antigonus, was upon his march to dislodge him. Seleucus having received intelligence of his motion, passed the Tigris in order to confront him, and he had the good fortune to surprise him in a disadvantageous post, where he assaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a small number of his friends, and to cross the deserts before he could arrive at the place where Antigonus then was. All the troops, who had escaped from the defeat, declared for Seleucus, either through a dissatisfaction in the service of Antigonus, or else from their apprehensions of the conqueror. Seleucus was now master of a fine army, which he employed in the conquest of Media and Susiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he rendered himself very powerful. The lenity of his government, his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, contributed principally to the establishment of his power; and he was then sensible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to possess their affections. He arrived in his own territories with an handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army, and he not only assembled a vast body of them about him in a short time, but they were likewise rendered invincible by their affection for him.

* With this entry into Babylon commences the famous Era of the Seleucides, received by all the people of the east, as well Pagans, as Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans. The Jews called it the Era of Contracts, because when they were subjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were obliged to insert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians stile it the Era of Bicornus, intimating Seleucus thereby, according to some authors, who declare that the sculptors represented him with two horns of an ox on his head, because this prince was so strong, that he could seize that animal by the horns and stop him short in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the Era of the Greeks, and use it in their dates; with this difference, however, that the first of these books represents it as beginning in the spring, the other, in the autumn of the same year. The thirty-one years of the reign ascribed to Seleucus, begin at this period.

†Antigonus was at Celænæ, when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his son Demetrius over the troops of

* A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. † Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

Ptolemy, and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to secure all the advantages that were presented to him by that event. He crossed mount Taurus, and joined his son, whom he tenderly embraced at the first interview, shedding at the same time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being sensible that he was not strong enough to oppose the united forces of the father and son, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Aca, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza; after which he retired into Egypt, with the greatest part of the riches of the country, and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœlosyria, were subjected a second time to the power of Antigonus.

* The inhabitants of these provinces, who were carried off by Ptolemy, followed him more out of inclination, than by any constraint; and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated those who submitted to his government, had gained their hearts so effectually, that they were more desirous of living under him in a foreign country, than to continue subject in their own to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of so gentle a treatment. They were likewise strengthened in this resolution by the advantageous proposals of Ptolemy; for, as he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, it was very easy to draw the inhabitants thither, where he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He therefore settled in that city most of those who followed him on this occasion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his first expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander himself, and they there found a fine country, and a powerful protection. The rumour of these advantages being propagated through all Judæa, rendered many more of the inhabitants desirous of establishing themselves at Alexandria, and they accomplished that design upon this occasion. Alexander had granted the Jews who settled there, under his government, the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians; and Ptolemy pursued the same conduct with respect to this new colony. In a word, he settled such a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almost formed an entire city of itself. A large body of Samaritans also established themselves there, on the same footing with the Jews, and increased exceedingly in numbers.

† Antigonus, after he had repossessed himself of Syria and Ju-

* Joseph Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. et. contr. Appian, l. i. et. ii.

† Diod. l. xix. p. 730—733.

dæa,

dæa, ſent Athenæus, one of his generals, againſt the Nabathæan Arabs, a nation of robbers, who made ſeveral inroads into the country he had newly conquered, and had lately carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, ſo called by the Greeks, becauſe it is ſituated on a high rock, in the middle of a deſert country. Athenæus made himſelf maſter of this place, and likewiſe of the ſpoils depoſited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by ſurpriſe in his retreat, and defeated the greateſt part of his troops; they likewiſe killed him on the ſpot, regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injuſtice with which they had been treated by Athenæus. Antigonus pretended at firſt to diſapprove his proceedings; but as ſoon as he had aſſembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his ſon Demetrius, with orders to chaſtiſe the inſolence of thoſe robbers: but as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat, or retake Petra, he contented himſelf with making the beſt treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.

* Antigonus, upon the intelligence he received of the ſucceſs of Seleucus in the eaſt, ſent his ſon Demetrius thither at the head of an army, to drive him out of Babylon, and diſpoſſeſs him of that province, while he himſelf advanced to the coaſts of Aſia Minor, to oppoſe the operations of the confederate princes, whoſe power daily increaſed. He likewiſe ordered his ſon to join him after he had executed his commiſſion in the eaſt. Demetrius, in conformity to his father's directions, aſſembled the army at Damaſcus, and marched to Babylon; and as Seleucus was then in Media, he entered the city without any oppoſition. Patrocles, who had been intruſted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to reſiſt Demetrius, retired with his troops into the marſhes, where the rivers, canals, and fens that covered him, made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cauſe the inhabitants alſo to retire from thence, who all ſaved themſelves; ſome on the other ſide of the Tigris, others in the deſerts, and the reſt in places of ſecurity.

Demetrius cauſed the caſtles to be attacked, of which there were two in Babylon, very large, and ſtrengthened with good garriſons on the two oppoſite banks of the Euphrates. One of theſe he took, and placed in it a garriſon of 7000 men. The

* A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311. Diod. l. xix. p. 735, 736. Plut. in Demetr. p. 891.

other ſuſtained the ſiege till Antigonus ordered his ſon to join him. This prince therefore left Archelaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with 1000 horſe, and 5000 foot, to continue the ſiege, and marched with the reſt of the troops into Aſia Minor, to reinforce his father.

Before his departure, he cauſed Babylon to be plundered; but this action proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus; even thoſe who, till then, had eſpouſed the intereſt of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, and looked upon this pillage as an act of deſertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them. This induced them to turn their thoughts to an accommodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party; by which means Seleucus, upon his return, which immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty to drive out the few troops that Demetrius had left in the city, and he retook the caſtle they had poſſeſſed. When this event was accompliſhed, he eſtabliſhed his authority in ſuch a ſolid manner, that nothing was capable of ſhaking it. This, therefore, is the epocha to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Aſia place it ſix months ſooner, and in the preceding year.

* Demetrius, upon his arrival in Aſia Minor, obliged Ptolemy to raiſe the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus, and this event was ſucceeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus; by which it was ſtipulated, that Caſſander ſhould have the management of the Macedonian affairs till Alexander, the ſon of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lyſimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt; and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia, and all Aſia, was allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewiſe to enjoy their liberty; but this accommodation was of no long duration: and indeed it is ſurpriſing, that princes, ſo well acquainted with each other, and ſenſible that the ſacred ſolemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual deluſion, ſhould expect any ſucceſs from an expedient that had been practiſed ſo frequently in vain, and was then ſo much in diſgrace. This treaty was hardly concluded before each party complained of infractions, and hoſtilities were renewed. The true reaſon was, the extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increaſed, and became ſo formidable to the other three, that they were incapable of enjoying any ſatisfaction, till they had reduced him.

* Diod. l. xix. p. 739. Plut. in Demet. p. 892.

It

It was manifeſt that they were only ſolicitous for their own intereſt, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient, and declared aloud, that it was time for them to cauſe the young Alexander to appear upon the ſtage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of priſon, in order to make him acquainted with the ſtate of his affairs. Caſſander, who foreſaw in this proceeding the deſtruction of his own meaſures, cauſed the young king and his mother Roxana to be ſecretly put to death, in the caſtle of Amphipolis, where he had confined them for ſome years.

* Polyſperchon, who governed in Peloponneſus, took this opportunity to declare openly againſt the conduct of Caſſander, and made the people ſenſible of the enormous wickedneſs of this action, with a view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely ſupplanting him in their affections. As he had then no thoughts of re-entering Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Caſſander, he affected an air of great zeal for the houſe of Alexander, and in order to render it apparent, he cauſed Hercules, another ſon of Alexander by Barſina, the widow of Memnon, and who was then about ſeventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus, upon which he himſelf advanced with an army, and propoſed to the Macedonians, to place him upon the throne. Caſſander was terrified at this proceeding, and repreſented to him at an interview between them, that he was preparing to raiſe himſelf a maſter; but that it would be more for his intereſt to remove Hercules out of the way, and ſecure the ſovereignty of Greece to himſelf, offering, at the ſame time, his own aſſiſtance for that purpoſe. This diſcourſe eaſily prevailed upon him to ſacrifice the young prince to Caſſander, as he was now perſuaded that he ſhould derive great advantages from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, ſuffered the ſame fate from him the next year, as Roxana and her ſon had before from Caſſander, and each of theſe wretches ſacrificed in his turn an heir of the crown, in order to ſhare it between themſelves.

As there was now no prince of Alexander's houſe left, each of them retained his government with the authority of a ſovereign, and were perſuaded that they had effectually ſecured their acquiſitions, by the murder of thoſe princes who alone had a lawful title to them, even congratulating themſelves for having extinguiſhed in their own minds all remains of reſpect for the memory of Alexander, their maſter and benefactor, which till

* A. M. 3694. Ant. J. C. 310. Diod. l. xx. p. 760, 761. et 766, 767.

then had held their hands. Who, without horror, could behold an action so perfidious, and at the same time so shameful and base! But such was the insensibility of them both, that they were equally forward to felicitate themselves on the success of an impious confederacy, which ended in the effusion of their master's blood. The blackest of all crimes never costs the ambitious any remorse, provided they conduce to their ends.

* Ptolemy having commenced the war anew, took several cities from Antigonus in Cilicia, and other parts; but Demetrius soon regained what his father had lost in Cilicia; and the other generals of Antigonus had the same success against those of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in person. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preserved his conquests; for when he had caused Nicocles, king of Paphos, to suffer death, he entirely crushed the party of Antigonus in that island.

† In order to obtain some compensation for what he had lost in Cilicia, he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and some other provinces of Asia Minor, where he took several places from Antigonus.

‡ He then sailed into the Ægean Sea, and made himself master of the isle of Andros; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and some other cities.

During his continuance in those parts, he formed an intimate correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander, who had espoused Alexander, king of Epirus, and at whose nuptials Philip had been assassinated. This princess, after the death of her consort, who was slain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a state of widowhood, and, for several years, had resided at Sardis in Lydia; but as Antigonus, who was master of that city, did not treat her with any extraordinary respect, Ptolemy made an artful improvement of her discontent, in order to gain her over to his interest. With this intention he invited her to an interview, in hopes of deriving, from her presence, some advantages against Antigonus. The princess had already set out, but the governor of Sardis caused her to be stopped, and immediately brought back by the command of Antigonus, and then secretly destroyed her. Antigonus, soon after this event, came to Sardis; where he ordered all the women who had been instrumental in her murder, to be proceeded against.

We may here behold with admiration, how heavily the arm

* Diod. l. xx. p. 760. † Ibid. 766.
‡ A. M. 3696. Ant. J. C. 308. Diod. l. xx. p. 774, 775.

of

of the Almighty fell upon all the race of Alexander, and with what ſeverity it purſued the ſmall remains of his family, and all thoſe who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whoſe favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curſe conſumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. God even uſed the miniſtration of his courtiers, officers, and domeſtics, to render the ſeverity of his judgments viſible to all mankind, who, by theſe means, received ſome kind of reparation for the calamities they had ſuffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the miniſter of the Deity in the execution of his juſt decrees, was not the leſs criminal on that account, becauſe he only acted from motives of ambition and cruelty, which, in the event, filled him with all imaginable horror, and which he wiſhed he could be capable of concealing from the obſervation of mankind. He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plauſible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the public, and avoid the hatred due to ſo black a crime. But ſo deep a ſtain of hypocriſy as this uſually diſcovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only increaſes the juſt horror the world generally entertains for thoſe who have committed it.

This barbarous and unmanly action was not the only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raiſed the ſuperſtructure of their power on the clemency and juſtice with which they governed their people; and, by theſe expedients, eſtabliſhed laſting empires, which continued in their families for ſeveral generations: but the character of Antigonus was of a different caſt. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obſtacles to his deſigns, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or humanity; in conſequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had ſupported himſelf, came to fail him, he loſt both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wiſdom and moderation of his government, was not ſecure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, who formed an inſurrection much about this time, gave him a juſt inquietude, but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no ſiniſter effect. This officer had ſerved firſt under Alexander, and, after the death of that prince, had embraced the intereſt of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy intruſted him with the command of the army which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire.

When

When these two provinces were subdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas, who, when he was sensible that this prince was too much engaged with Antigonus and Demetrius to give him any apprehensions, had rendered himself independent, and continued for that year in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation.

Agathocles, king of Syracuse, having marched into Africa to attack the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his interest, and promised to assist him in the conquest of all Africa for himself. Ophellas, won by so grateful a proposal, joined Agathocles with an army of 20,000 men in the Carthaginian territories; but he had scarce arrived there, before the perfidious wretch, who had drawn him thither, caused him to be slain, and kept his army in his own service. The history of the Carthaginians will inform the reader, in what manner this black instance of treachery succeeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellas, recovered Libya and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty; her name was Eurydice, and she was descended from Miltiades. After the death of her husband, she returned to Athens, where Demetrius saw her the following year, and espoused her.

SECTION VII.

DEMETRIUS, THE SON OF ANTIGONUS, BESIEGES AND TAKES ATHENS.—THE CONSEQUENCES WHICH FOLLOW.

Antigonus and Demetrius had formed a design to restore liberty to all Greece*, which was kept in a kind of slavery, by Cassander, Ptolemy, and Polysperchon. These confederate princes, in order to subject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to establish aristocracy in all the cities they conquered. This is the government of the rich and powerful, and corresponds, the most of any, with regal authority. Antigonus, to engage the people in his interest, had recourse to a contrary method, by substituting a democracy, which more effectually soothed the inclination of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renovation of the policy which had been so frequently employed against the Lacedæmonians, by the Athenians and Persians, that had always succeeded; and it was impossible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if supported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon his measures in a better manner, than by opening the scene with

* A. M. 3698. Ant. J. C. 306. Plut. in Demetr. p. 892—894.

the

the ſignal of democratic liberty in Athens; which was not only the moſt jealous, but was likewiſe at the head of all the other republics.

When the ſiege of Athens had been reſolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that, if he ſhould happen to take that city, he ought to keep it for himſelf, as the key of all Greece; but he entirely rejected that propoſal, and replied, "That the beſt and ſtrongeſt key which he knew, was "the friendſhip of the people; and that Athens being in a man-"ner the light by which all the world ſteered, would not fail "to ſpread univerſally the glory of his actions." It is very ſurpriſing to ſee in what manner princes, who are very unjuſt and ſelf-intereſted, can ſometimes borrow the language of equity and generoſity, and are ſolicitous of doing themſelves honour by aſſuming the appearance of virtues, to which, in reality, they are utter ſtrangers.

Demetrius ſet out for Athens with 5000 talents, and a fleet of 250 ſhips. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city for the ſpace of ten years, in the name, and under the authority of Caſſander; and the republic, as I have already obſerved, never experienced a juſter government, or enjoyed a ſeries of greater tranquillity and happineſs. The citizens, in gratitude to his adminiſtration, had erected as many ſtatues to his honour as there are days in the year, namely 360; for at that time the year, according to Pliny *, was limited to this number of days. An honour like this had never been accorded to any citizen.

When the fleet of Demetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for its reception, believing the ſhips belonged to Ptolemy; but when the captains, and principal officers, were at laſt undeceived, they immediately had recourſe to arms for their defence; every place was filled with tumult and confuſion, the Athenians being reduced to a ſudden and unexpected neceſſity of repelling an enemy, who advanced upon them without being diſcovered, and had already made a deſcent; for Demetrius had entered the port, which he found entirely open, and might eaſily be diſtinguiſhed on the deck of his galley, where with his hand he made a ſignal to the people to keep themſelves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he cauſed them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himſelf at his ſide, "That his father, Antigonus, had ſent him, "under happy auſpices, to reinſtate the Athenians in the poſ-

* Nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

"ſeſſion

" ſeſſion of their liberty, to drive the garriſon out of their cita-
" del, and to re-eſtabliſh their laws, and ancient plan of govern-
" ment."

The Athenians, at this proclamation, caſt their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud acclamations of joy, preſſed Demetrius to deſcend from his galley, and called him their preſerver and benefactor. Thoſe who were then with Demetrius Phalereus were unanimouſly of opinion, that as the ſon of Antigonus was already maſter of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they ſhould even be certain that he would not perform any one article of what he had promiſed: upon which they immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to him with a tender of their ſubmiſſions.

Demetrius received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience; and, in order to convince them of his good diſpoſition towards them, he gave them Ariſtodemus of Miletus, one of his father's moſt intimate friends, as an hoſtage, at their diſmiſſion. He was likewiſe careful to provide for the ſafety of Demetrius Phalereus, who, in conſequence of this revolution, had more reaſon to be apprehenſive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themſelves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inſpired the young prince with the utmoſt reſpect for his perſon; and he ſent him with a ſufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own requeſt. He then told the Athenians, that he was determined not to ſee their city; and that as deſirous as he was to viſit it, he would not ſo much as enter within the walls, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from ſubjection, by driving out the garriſon that incroached upon their liberties. At the ſame time, he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raiſed good intrenchments before the fortreſs of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city; after which he embarked for Megara, where Caſſander had placed a ſtrong garriſon.

When he arrived at that city, he was informed, that Crateſipolis, the wife of Alexander, and daughter of Polyſperchon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then reſided at Patræ, and was extremely deſirous to ſee him, and be at his devotion. He therefore left his army in the territories of Megara, and having ſelected a ſmall number of perſons, moſt diſpoſed to attend him, he ſet out for Patræ; and when he had arrived within a ſmall diſtance of that city, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf from his people, and cauſed a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Crateſipolis might not be ſeen when ſhe came to him. A party of the enemy happening to be appriſed of this imprudent proceeding,

proceeding, marched againſt him when he leaſt expected ſuch a viſit, and he had but juſt time to diſguiſe himſelf in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; ſo that he was on the very point of being taken in the moſt ignominious manner, on account of his incontinence. The enemy ſeized his tent, with the riches that were in it.

The city of Megara being taken, the ſoldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants; but the Athenians interceded for them ſo effectually, that the city was ſaved. Demetrius drove out the garriſon of Caſſander, and reinſtated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon*, a celebrated philoſopher, lived in that city, and was viſited by Demetrius, who aſked him if he had loſt any thing? "Nothing at all," replied Stilpon, "for I carry all my "effects about me;" meaning by that expreſſion, his juſtice, probity, temperance, and wiſdom; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the claſs of bleſſings, that could be taken from him. What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction againſt ſuch a man as this, who neither deſires nor dreads any thing, and who has been taught by philoſophy, not to conſider death itſelf as a calamity?

Though the city was ſaved from pillage, yet all the ſlaves in general were taken, and carried off by the conquerors. Demetrius, on the day of his return from thence, careſſed Stilpon exceedingly, and told him, that he left the city to him in an entire ſtate of freedom. "What you ſay, my Lord, is certainly true," replied the philoſopher, "for you have not left ſo much as one "ſlave in it."

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, poſted his troops before the port of Munychia, and carried on the ſiege with ſo much vigour, that he ſoon drove out the garriſon, and razed the fort. The Athenians, after this event, intreated him with great importunity, to come to refreſh himſelf in the city; upon which he accordingly entered it, and then aſſembled the people, to whom he reſtored their ancient form of government, promiſing, at the ſame time, that his father ſhould ſend them 150,000 meaſures of corn, and all neceſſary materials for building 100 galleys,

* Megara Demetrius ceperat, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philoſophus interrogatus, num quid perdidiſſet: nihil, inquit; omnia namque mea mecum ſunt—Habebat enim ſecum vera bona, in quæ non eſt manus injectio—Hæc ſunt, juſticia, virtus, temperantia, prudentia; et hoc ipſum, nihil bonum putare quod eripi poſſit—Cogita nunc, an huic quiſquam facere injuriam poſſit, cui bellum, et hoſtis ille egregiam artem quaſſandarum urbium profeſſus, eripere nihil potuit. Senec. de Conſt. ſap. c. v. et Ep. 9.

of

of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy, about 14 years after its abolition.

The gratitude to their benefactors extended even to impiety and irreligion, by the exceſſive honours they decreed them. They firſt conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, which neither theſe, nor any of the other princes, had ever had the preſumption to take till then, though they had aſſumed to themſelves all the power and effects of royalty. The Athenians likewiſe honoured them with the appellation of Tutelar Deities; and inſtead of the magiſtracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected a prieſt of theſe tutelar deities in whoſe name all the public acts and decrees were paſſed. They alſo ordered their pictures to be painted on the veil, which was carried in proceſſion at their ſolemn feſtivals in honour of Minerva, called Panathenæa, and by an exceſs of adulation ſcarce credible, they conſecrated the ſpot of ground on which Demetrius deſcended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the "altar of Demetrius deſcending from his chariot;" and they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they ſtiled, "the tribe of Demetrius, and the tribe of Antigonus." They alſo changed the names of two months in their favour, and publiſhed an order, that thoſe who ſhould be ſent to Antigonus and Demetrius, by any decree of the people, inſtead of being diſtinguiſhed by the common title of ambaſſadors, ſhould be called Theoroi, which was an appellation reſerved for thoſe who were choſen to go and offer ſacrifices to the gods of Delphos or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all theſe honours were not ſo ſtrange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Democlides, who propoſed, "that in order to the more effectual conſe-
"cration of the bucklers that were to be dedicated in the tem-
"ple of Apollo, at Delphos, proper perſons ſhould be diſpatch-
"ed to Demetrius, the tutelar deity; and that after they
"had offered ſacrifices to him, they ſhould inquire of this
"tutelar deity, in what manner they ought to conduct
"themſelves, ſo as to celebrate, with the greateſt pomptitude
"and the utmoſt devotion and magnificence, the dedication of
"thoſe offerings, and that the people would comply with all the
"directions of the oracle, on that occaſion."

The extreme ingratitude the Athenians diſcovered, in reſpect to Demetrius Phalereus, was no leſs criminal and extravagant, than the immoderate acknowledgment they had rendered to their new maſter. They had always conſidered the former as too much devoted to oligarchy, and were offended at his ſuffering the Macedonian garriſon to continue in their citadel, for the ſpace of ten years

years, without making the leaſt application to Caſſander for their removal. In this he, however, had only purſued the conduct of Phocion, and undoubtedly conſidered theſe troops as a neceſſary reſtraint on the turbulent diſpoſition of the Athenians. * They might poſſibly imagine likewiſe, that by declaring againſt him they ſhould ingratiate themſelves more effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they firſt condemned him to ſuffer death, for contumacy; and as they were incapable of executing their reſentment upon his perſon, becauſe he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous ſtatues they had raiſed in honour of Demetrius Phalereus; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, "At leaſt," ſaid he, "it will not be in their power to deſtroy that virtue in me by which theſe ſtatues were deſerved."

What eſtimation is to be made of thoſe honours, which, at one time, are beſtowed with ſo much profuſion, and as ſuddenly revoked at another; honours that have been denied to virtue, and proſtituted to vicious princes, with a conſtant diſpoſition to diveſt them of thoſe favours, upon the firſt impreſſions of diſcontent, and degrade them from their divinity with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them! What weakneſs and ſtupidity do thoſe diſcover, who are either touched with ſtrong impreſſions of joy when they receive ſuch honours, or appear dejected when they happen to loſe them!

The Athenians ſtill proceeded to greater extremities. Demetrius Phalereus was accuſed of having acted contrary to their laws in many inſtances during his adminiſtration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was neceſſary for them to have recourſe to this injuſtice and calumny, as infamous as ſuch expedients were in their own nature, to eſcape, if poſſible, the juſt reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been univerſally known and experienced. The ſtatues, while they ſubſiſted, were ſo many public teſtimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and againſt the injuſtice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then turned againſt them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the deſtruction of his ſtatues; and therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould appear criminal, that the Athenians might be able to repreſent themſelves as innocent and juſt; and they imagined that a ſolemn and authentic condemnation would ſupply the defect of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They

* Diog. Laert.

did not even ſpare his friends; and all thoſe who had maintained a ſtrict intimacy with him were expoſed to inſults. Menander, that celebrated poet, from whom Terence has tranſcribed the greateſt part of his comedies, was on the point of being proſecuted, for no other reaſon than his having contracted a friendſhip with Demetrius.

There is ſome reaſon to believe, that Demetrius, after he had paſſed ſome time at Thebes, retired for refuge to Caſſander, who was ſenſible of his merit, and teſtified a particular eſteem for him, and that he continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But as he had reaſon, after the death of Caſſander, to be apprehenſive of all things from the brutality of his ſon Antipater, who had cauſed his own mother to be deſtroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who had rendered himſelf illuſtrious by his liberalities and regard to men of letters, and whoſe court was then the aſylum of all perſons in diſtreſs.

* His reception at this court was as favourable as poſſible; and the king, according to Ælian, gave him the office of ſuperintending the obſervance of the laws of the ſtate. He held the firſt rank among the friends of that prince; lived in affluence, and was in a condition to tranſmit preſents to his friends at Athens. Theſe were undoubtedly ſome of thoſe real friends, of whom Demetrius himſelf declared, that they never came to him in his proſperity, till he firſt had ſent for them, but that they always viſited him in his adverſity, without waiting for any invitation.

During his exile, he compoſed ſeveral treatiſes on government, the duties of civil life, and other ſubjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of ſuſtenance to his mind†, and cheriſhed in it thoſe ſentiments of humanity, with which it was ſo largely repleniſhed. How grateful a conſolation and reſource is this, either in ſolitude, or a ſtate of exile, to a man ſolicitous of improving his hours of leiſure to the advantage of himſelf, and the public!

The reader, when he conſiders the ſurpriſing number of ſtatues erected in honour of one man, will undoubtedly beſtow ſome reflections on the ſtrange difference he diſcovers between the glorious ages of Athens, and that we are now deſcribing.

* Ælian. l. iii. c. 17. Plut. in exil. p. 601.

† Multa præclara in illo calamitoſo exilio ſcripſit, non ad uſum aliquem ſuum, quo erat orbatus; ſed animi cultus ille erat ei quaſi quidam humanitatis cibus. Cic. de Finib. bon. et mal. l. v. n. 54.

A very

A very judicious author * has a fine remark on this occaſion. All the recompence, ſays he, which the Athenians formerly granted Miltiades for preſerving the ſtate, was the privilege of being repreſented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle; but the ſame people, being afterwards ſoftened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above 300 ſtatues to Demetrius Phalereus. Such a prodigality of honours are no proofs of real merit, but the effects of ſervile adulation; and Demetrius Phalereus was culpable to a conſiderable degree, in not oppoſing them to the utmoſt of his power, if he really was in a condition to prevent their taking place. † The conduct of Cato was much more prudent, when he declined ſeveral marks of diſtinction which the people were deſirous of granting him; and when he was aſked, one day, why no ſtatues had been erected to him, when Rome was crowded with thoſe of ſo many others, "I had much rather," ſaid he, "people ſhould inquire "why I have none, than why I have any."

True honour and diſtinction, ſays Plutarch, in the place I laſt cited, conſiſt in the ſincere eſteem and affection of the people, founded on real merit and effectual ſervices. Theſe are ſentiments which are ſo far from being extinguiſhed by death, that they are perpetuated from age to age; whereas, a profuſion of honours through flattery, or the apprehenſions entertained of bad princes and tyrants, are never known to ſurvive them, and frequently die away before them. The ſame Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately ſeen conſulted and adored like an oracle and a god, will ſoon have the mortification to behold the Athenians, ſhutting their gates againſt him, for no other reaſon than the change of his fortune.

‡ Demetrius, while he continued at Athens, eſpouſed Eurydice, the widow of Ophellas. He had already had ſeveral wives, and, among the reſt, Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him to marry againſt his inclination, citing to him a verſe out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word. "Wherever fortune "is, a perſon ought to marry, even againſt his inclination §."

As ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obſolete hitherto, but retains its full force, how contrary ſoever it be to the ſentiments of nature. Demetrius was ſeverely cenſured at Athens, for infamous exceſſes.

* Cor. Nep. in Miltiad. c. vi. † Plut. in præc. reip. ger. p. 820.
‡ Plut. in Demetr. p. 894.
§ Ὅπε τὸ κέρδος, παρὰ φύσιν γαμητέον. It was δαλευτέον, a man muſt ſerve.

* In a ſhort time after this marriage, his father ordered him to quit Greece, and ſent him with a ſtrong fleet, and a numerous army, to conquer the iſle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he ſent ambaſſadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him againſt Ptolemy; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they conſtantly inſiſted on the liberty of perſevering in the neutrality they had embraced. Demetrius, being ſenſible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his deſign, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a deſcent, and marched to Salamina, the capital of that iſland. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had ſhut himſelf up there with moſt of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but was defeated, and compelled to re-enter the place after he had loſt 1000 of his men, who were ſlain upon the ſpot, and 3000 more who were taken priſoners.

Menelaus, not doubting but the prince, elated with this ſucceſs, would undertake the ſiege of Salamina, made all the neceſſary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence; and while he was employing all his attention to that effect, he ſent three couriers poſt to Ptolemy, to carry him the news of his defeat, and the ſiege with which he was threatened; they were alſo to ſolicit him to haſten the ſuccours he demanded, and, if poſſible, to lead them in perſon.

Demetrius, after he had obtained an exact account of the ſituation of the place, as alſo of his forces, and thoſe of the garriſon, was ſenſible that he had not a ſufficient number of battering-rams, and other military machines for its reduction; and therefore ſent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen, with an infinite quantity of iron and wood, in order to make all the neceſſary preparations for aſſaulting a city of that importance; and he then built the famous engine called Helepolis, of which I ſhall give an exact deſcription.

When all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his engines; and as they were judiciouſly worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The beſiegers, after various attacks, opened ſeveral large breaches in the wall, by which means the beſieged were rendered incapable of ſuſtaining the aſſault much longer, unleſs they could reſolve on ſome bold attempt, to prevent the attack which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which had ſuſpended

* Diod. l. xx. p. 783.—789. Plut. in. Demetr. p. 895, 896. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 2.

the

the hoſtilities on both ſides, the inhabitants of Salamina piled a vaſt quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combuſtible materials, and, about midnight, threw them all down at the foot of the Helepolis, battering rams, and other engines, and then kindled them with long flaming poles. The fire immediately ſeized them with ſo much violence, that they were all in flames in a very ſhort time. The enemy ran from all quarters to extinguiſh the fire; but this coſt them a conſiderable time to effect, and moſt of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however, was not diſcouraged at this diſaſter.

Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill ſucceſs in the action againſt Demetrius, cauſed a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced, as ſoon as poſſible, to his aſſiſtance. The battle, for which both parties prepared, after ſome ineffectual overtures of accommodation, created great expectations of the event, not only in the generals who were then upon the ſpot, but in all the abſent princes and commanders. The ſucceſs appeared to be uncertain; but it was very apparent, that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an entire ſuperiority over the reſt. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of 150 ſail, had ordered Menelaus, who was then at Salamina, to come up with the 60 veſſels under his command, in order to charge the rear-guard of Demetrius, and throw them into diſorder, amidſt the firſt heat of the battle. But Demetrius had the precaution to leave 10 of his ſhips to oppoſe thoſe 60 of Menelaus; for this ſmall number was ſufficient to guard the entrance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was ſettled, Demetrius drew out his land-forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the ſea, that he might be in a condition, in caſe any misfortune happened, to aſſiſt thoſe who would be obliged to ſave themſelves by ſwimming; after which he ſailed into the open ſea, with 180 galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with ſo much impetuoſity, that he broke the lines of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had immediately recourſe to flight with eight galleys, which were all that eſcaped; for of the other veſſels which compoſed his fleet, ſome were either ſhattered or ſunk in the battle, and all the others, to the number of 70, were taken with their whole complements. All the remains, therefore, of Ptolemy's train and baggage, with his domeſtics, friends, and wives, proviſions, arms, money, and machines of war, on board the ſtore-ſhips that lay at anchor, were ſeized by Demetrius, who cauſed them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any oppoſition, after this battle at ſea, but ſurrendered himſelf to Demetrius, with the city, and all his ſhips and land-forces, which laſt conſiſted of 1200 horſe, and 12,000 foot.

Demetrius exalted the glory of this victory by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He cauſed the ſlain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generouſly reſtored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiſcus, one the brother, and the other the ſon of Ptolemy, who were found among the priſoners: he alſo diſmiſſed them, with their friends and domeſtics, and all their baggage, without any ranſom; that he might once more return the civilities he had experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occaſion, after the battle of Gaza. *With ſo much more generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and politeneſs did enemies make war againſt each other in thoſe days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary commerce of life. He likewiſe ſelected out of the ſpoils, 1200 complete ſuits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians; the reſt of the priſoners, whoſe number amounted to 17,000 men, without including the marines taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops; by which means he greatly reinforced his army.

Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmoſt anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, by the event of which the fate of himſelf and his ſon was to be decided. When the courier brought him intelligence, that Demetrius had obtained a complete victory, his joy roſe in proportion; and all the people, at the ſame inſtant, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus immediately tranſmitted to his ſon the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the regal title in the letter he wrote to him. The Egyptians, when they were informed of this proceeding, were alſo no leſs induſtrious in proclaiming Ptolemy king, that they might not ſeem to be dejected at their defeat, or be thought to entertain the leſs eſteem and affection for their prince. Lyſimachus and Seleucus ſoon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon, and the provinces of the Eaſt; and aſſumed the title of king, in their ſeveral dominions, after they had for ſo many years uſurped the ſupreme authority there, without preſuming to take this title upon them till that time, which was about 18 years after the death of Alexander. Caſſander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others, in their diſcourſe

* Tanto honeſtius tunc bella gerebantur, quam nunc amicitiæ coluntur. Juſtin.

and

and letters to him, continued to write in his usual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name.

Plutarch observes, that this new title not only occasioned these princes to augment their train and pompous appearance, but also caused them to assume airs of pomp and loftiness, and inspired them with such haughty impressions as they had never manifested till then; as if this appellation had suddenly exalted them into a species of beings different from the rest of mankind.

* Seleucus had greatly increased his power in the oriental provinces, during the transactions we have been describing; for, after he had killed Nicanor in a battle, whom Antigonus had sent against him, he not only established himself in the possession of Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but reduced Persia, Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this side the Indus, which had formerly been conquered by Alexander.

† Antigonus, on his side, to improve the victory his son had obtained in Cyprus, assembled an army of 100,000 men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himself, that conquest would infallibly attend his arms, and that he should divest Ptolemy of that kingdom, with as much ease as he had taken Cyprus from him. Whilst he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coasted along the shores to Gaza, where the father and son concerted the measures each of them were to pursue. The pilots advised them to wait till the setting of the Pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, because the sea was then very tempestuous: but the impatience of Antigonus to surprise Ptolemy, before his preparations were completed, caused him to disregard that salutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a descent in one of the mouths of the Nile, whilst Antigonus was to endeavour to open a passage by land, into the heart of the country; but neither the one nor the other succeeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius sustained great damage by violent storms; and Ptolemy had taken such effectual precautions to secure the mouths of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, having employed all his efforts to cross the deserts which lie between Palestine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties still to surmount, and found it impossi-

* A. M. 3699. Ant. J. C. 305. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Justin. l. xv. c. 4.

† Diod. l. xx. p. 304—306. Plut. in Demetr. p. 896, 897.

ble

ble to pafs the firft arm of the Nile in his march, fuch judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and fo advantageoufly were his troops poſted at all the paſſes and avenues; but, what was ſtill more afflictive to Antigonus than all the reſt, his ſoldiers daily deſerted from him in great numbers.

Ptolemy had ſent out boats on ſeveral parts of the river where the enemies reſorted for water, and cauſed it to be proclaimed on his part, from thoſe veſſels, that every deſerter from their troops ſhould receive from him two minæ, and every officer a talent. So conſiderable a recompence ſoon allured great numbers to receive it, eſpecially the troops in the pay of Antigonus; nor were they prevailed upon by money alone, as their inclinations to ſerve Ptolemy were much ſtronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they conſidered as an old man difficult to be pleaſed, imperious, moroſe, and ſevere; whereas Ptolemy rendered himſelf amiable, by his gentle diſpoſition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his proviſions began to fail him, became ſenſible of his inability to enter into Egypt; that his army decreaſed every day by ſickneſs and deſertion; and that it was impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt his remaining troops any longer in that country; was obliged to return into Syria, in a very ſhameful manner, after having loſt in this unfortunate expedition, a great number of his land-forces, and abundance of his ſhips.

Ptolemy, having offered a ſacrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, ſent to acquaint Lyſimachus, Caſſander, and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them, againſt the common enemy. This was the laſt attack he had to ſuſtain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in conſequence of the prudent meaſures he purſued. Ptolemy, the aſtronomer, therefore fixed the commencement of his reign at this period, and afterwards points out the ſeveral years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the Epocha on the ſeventh of November, and 19 years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECT.

SECTION VIII.

DEMETRIUS BESIEGES RHODES.—PROTOGENES SPARED DURING THE SIEGE.

ANTIGONUS * was almoſt 80 years of age at that time, and as he had then contracted a groſs habit of body, and conſequently was but little qualified for the activity of a military life, he made uſe of his ſon's ſervices, who, by the experience he had already acquired, and the ſucceſs which attended him, tranſacted the moſt important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reaſon, was not offended at his expenſive luxury and intemperance; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himſelf to the greateſt exceſſes of all kinds, without the leaſt regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part; he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible to fatigues. Whether he gave into pleaſure, or applied to ſerious affairs, he entirely devoted himſelf to the one or the other; and for the time he engaged in either, was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius; and it may be juſtly ſaid, that curioſity, and a fine turn of mind for the ſciences, were inſeparable from him. He never employed his natural induſtry in frivolous and inſignificant amuſements, like many other kings, ſome of whom, as Plutarch obſerves, valued themſelves for their expertneſs in playing on inſtruments, others in painting, and ſome in their dexterity in the turner's art, with an hundred other qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanic arts had ſomething great and truly royal in it; his galleys, with five benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them ſailing along the coaſts; and his engines, called Helepoles, were a ſurpriſing ſpectacle to thoſe whom he beſieged. They were exceedingly uſeful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged him at the time we are now ſpeaking of.

Among the iſlands called Sporades, Rhodes held the firſt rank, as well for the fertility of its ſoil, as the ſafety of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were reſorted to by great numbers of trading ſhips from all parts. It then formed a ſmall but very powerful ſtate, whoſe friendſhip was courted by all princes, and who was ſtudious, on its own part, to oblige them, by obſerving an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any

* A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304. Diod. l. xx. p. 809—815. et 817. 825. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897, 898.

declaration

declaration in favour of one againſt another, in the wars that aroſe in thoſe times. As the inhabitants were limited to a little iſland, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their capital intereſt to preſerve as free as poſſible with the Mediterranean ſtates, which all contributed to their proſperity. The Rhodians, by perſiſting in ſo prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flouriſhing; and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as intereſt, ſecretly attached them to Ptolemy, becauſe the principal and moſt advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded ſuccours of them in his war with Cyprus, they entreated him not to compel them to declare againſt Ptolemy, their ancient friend and ally; but this anſwer, as prudent and well-concerted as it really was, drew upon them the diſpleaſure of Antigonus, which he expreſſed in the ſevereſt menaces; and, when he returned from his expedition to Egypt, he ſent his ſon Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to chaſtiſe their inſolent temerity, as he termed it, and likewiſe to reduce them to his obedience.

The Rhodians, who foreſaw the impending ſtorm, had ſent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their aſſiſtance, and cauſed it to be repreſented to the latter, that their attachment to his intereſt had drawn upon them the danger to which they were then expoſed.

The preparations on each ſide were immenſe. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had 200 ſhips of war of different dimenſions, and more than 170 tranſports, which carried about 40,000 men, without including the cavalry, and the ſuccours he received from pirates. He had likewiſe near 1000 ſmall veſſels laden with proviſions, and all other neceſſary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vaſt booty to be acquired by the capture of ſo rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of ſoldiers to join Demetrius in this expedition. This prince, who had the moſt fertile and inventive genius that ever was, for attacking places, and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was ſenſible that he had to deal with a brave people, and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs; and that the beſieged had an hundred military machines almoſt as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the iſland, landed in order to take a view of the moſt commodious ſituation for aſſaulting the place.

place. He likewiſe ſent out parties to lay the country waſte on all ſides, and, at the ſame time, cauſed another body of his troops to cut down the trees, and demoliſh the houſes in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then employed them as materials to fortify his camp with a triple paliſade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All perſons of merit and reputation for military affairs, in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themſelves into the city, as much for the honour of ſerving a republic, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citizens, as to manifeſt their own fortitude and abilities in the defence of that place, againſt one of the greateſt captains, and the moſt expert in the conduct of ſieges, that antiquity ever produced.

They began with diſmiſſing from the city all ſuch perſons as were uſeleſs; and the number of thoſe who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to 6000 citizens, and 1000 ſtrangers. Liberty, and the right of deniſons, were promiſed to ſuch ſlaves as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by their bravery, and the public engaged to the maſters the full price of each of them. It was likewiſe publicly declared, that the citizens ſhould beſtow an honourable interment on thoſe who ſhould loſe their lives in any engagement, and would alſo provide for the ſubſiſtence of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in marriage: and that when the ſons ſhould be of age capable of bearing arms, they ſhould be preſented with a complete ſuit of armour, on the public theatre, at the great ſolemnity of the Bacchanalians.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the expence of the ſiege, and the ſoldiers' pay. The workmen redoubled their induſtry in making arms, that were excellent, as well for the promptitude of execution, as the beauty of the work. Some were employed in making catapultas and baliſtas; others formed different machines equally neceſſary; a third claſs repaired the breaches of the walls; while ſeveral others ſupplied them with ſtone. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout the city; each ſtriving with emulation to diſtinguiſh himſelf on that occaſion; ſo that a zeal ſo ardent and univerſal was never known before.

The beſieged firſt ſent out three good ſailors againſt a ſmall fleet of ſuttlers and merchants, who ſupplied the enemy with proviſions; they ſunk a great number of their veſſels, burned ſeveral, and carried into the city ſuch of the priſoners who were

in

in a condition to pay their ranſom. The Rhodians gained a conſiderable ſum of money by this expedition; for it was mutually agreed, that 1000 drachms, about L. 25 ſhould be paid for every perſon that was a freeman, and half the ſum for a ſlave.

The ſiege of Rhodes has been repreſented as the maſterpiece of Demetrius, and the greateſt inſtance of the fertility of his genius in reſources and inventions. He began the attack from the ſea, in order to make himſelf maſter of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accompliſh this deſign, he cauſed two tortoiſes to be erected on two flat prahms or barks joined together, to facilitate his approach to the places he intended to batter. One of theſe was ſtronger and more ſolid than the other, in order to cover the men from thoſe enormous maſſes which the beſieged diſcharged from the towers and walls, with the catapultas planted upon them; the other was of a lighter ſtructure, and deſigned to ſhelter the ſoldiers from flights of darts and arrows. Two towers of four ſtories were erected at the ſame time, which exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port, and which were intended to be uſed in battering the latter with vollies of ſtones and darts. Each of theſe towers were placed upon two ſhips ſtrongly bound together.

Demetrius, beſide theſe tortoiſes and towers, cauſed a kind of floating barricado to be erected on a long beam of timber, four feet thick, through which ſtakes armed at the end with large points of iron were driven. Theſe ſtakes were diſpoſed horizontally with their ſpikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the veſſels of the port from ſhattering the work with their beaks.

He likewiſe ſelected out of his fleet the largeſt veſſels, on the ſide of which he erected a rampart of planks with little windows, eaſy to be opened. He there placed the beſt Cretan archers and ſlingers in all his army, and furniſhed them with an infinite number of bows, ſmall baliſtas, or croſs-bows, and catapultas, with other engines for ſhooting; in order to gall the workmen of the city employed in raiſing and repairing the walls of the port.

The Rhodians ſeeing the beſiegers turn all their efforts againſt that quarter, were no leſs induſtrious to defend it; in order to accompliſh that deſign, they raiſed two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ſhips of burden, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and ſlingers were likewiſe poſted on each of theſe ſituations, with a prodigious quantity of ſtones, darts, and arrows

of

of all kinds. The ſame orders were alſo given, with reſpect to the ſhips of burden in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ſhips and all their armament, to begin the attack on the ports, ſuch a violent tempeſt aroſe as rendered it impoſſible for him to accompliſh any of his operations that day; but the ſea growing calm about night, he took the advantage of the darkneſs, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the grand port, where he made himſelf maſter of a neighbouring eminence, about 500 paces from the wall, where he poſted 400 ſoldiers, who fortified themſelves immediately with good paliſadoes.

The next morning, Demetrius cauſed his batteries to advance with the ſound of trumpets, and the ſhouts of his whole army; and they at firſt produced all the effect he propoſed from them. A great number of the beſieged were ſlain in this attack, and ſeveral breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port: But they were not very advantageous to the beſiegers, who were always repulſed by the Rhodians; and the loſs being almoſt equal on both ſides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ſhips and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrows.

The beſieged, who had been inſtructed at their own expence in what manner the night was capable of being improved, cauſed ſeveral fire ſhips to ſail out of the port, during the darkneſs, in order to burn the tortoiſes and wooden towers which the enemy had erected; but as they had the misfortune to be incapable of forcing the floating barricado, they were obliged to return into the port. The Rhodians loſt ſome of their fire-ſhips in this expedition, but the mariners ſaved themſelves by ſwimming.

The next day, the prince ordered a general attack to be made againſt the port, and the walls of the place, with the ſound of trumpets, and the ſhouts of his whole army, thinking by thoſe means to ſpread terror among the beſieged: but they were ſo far from being intimidated, that they ſuſtained the attack with incredible vigour, and diſcovered the ſame intrepidity for the ſpace of eight days that it continued; and actions of aſtoniſhing bravery were performed on both ſides during that period.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had ſeized, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of ſeveral engines, which diſcharged great ſtones of 150 lbs. in weight, againſt the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated ſhocks, and ſeveral breaches were ſoon made in the walls. The beſiegers then made a furious advance to ſeize the

moles which defended the entrance into the port; but as this poſt was of the laſt importance to the Rhodians, they ſpared no pains to repulſe the beſiegers, who had already made a conſiderable progreſs. This they at laſt effected, by a ſhower of ſtones and arrows, which they diſcharged upon their enemies with ſo much rapidity, and for ſuch a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confuſion, after loſing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the beſiegers was not diminiſhed by this repulſe, and they rather appeared more animated than ever againſt the Rhodians. They began the ſcalade by ſea and land at the ſame time, and employed the beſieged ſo effectually, that they ſcarce knew whither to run for the defence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmoſt fury on all ſides, and the beſieged defended themſelves with the greateſt intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miſerably bruiſed; ſeveral, even of the principal officers, got to the top of the wall, where they were covered with wounds, and taken priſoners by the enemy; ſo that Demetrius, notwithſtanding all his valour, thought it neceſſary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almoſt entirely deſtroyed by ſo many attacks, as well as the veſſels that carried them.

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead; the beaks alſo of the ſhips, with the other ſpoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple, and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius having employed ſeven days in refitting his ſhips, and repairing his engines, ſet ſail again, with a fleet as formidable as the former, and ſteered, with a fair wind, directly for the port, which employed his attention moſt, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had firſt made himſelf maſter of that. Upon his arrival, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of lighted torches, flaming ſtraw, and arrows to be diſcharged, in order to ſet fire to the veſſels that were riding there, while his engines battered the mole without intermiſſion. The beſieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour and activity, that they ſoon extinguiſhed the flames, which had ſeized the veſſels of the port.

At the ſame time they cauſed three of their largeſt ſhips to ſail out of the port, under the command of Exaceſtes, one of their braveſt officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and uſe all poſſible means to join the veſſels that carried the tortoiſes and wooden towers, and to charge them in ſuch a manner with the beaks

of

of theirs, as might either ſink them, or render them entirely uſeleſs. Theſe orders were executed with a ſurpriſing expedition and addreſs; and the three galleys, after they had ſhattered and broke through the floating barricado already mentioned, drove their beaks with ſo much violence into the ſides of the enemy's barks on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately ſeen to flow into them through ſeveral openings. Two of them were already ſunk, but the third was towed along by the galleys, and joined the main fleet; and as dangerous as it was to attack them in that ſituation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, had the courage to attempt it. But as the inequality was too great to admit them to come off with ſucceſs, Exaceſtes, with the officer who commanded under him, and ſome others, after having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were; the other two regained the port, after ſuſtaining many dangers, and moſt of the men alſo arrived there by ſwimming.

As unfortunate as this laſt attack had proved to Demetrius, he was determined to undertake another himſelf; and, in order to ſucceed in that deſign, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, of thrice the height and breadth of thoſe he had lately loſt. When this was completed, he cauſed it to be placed near the port, which he was reſolved to force; but at the inſtant they were preparing to work it, a dreadful tempeſt aroſe at ſea, and ſunk it to the bottom with the veſſels on which it had been raiſed.

The beſieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, employed the time afforded them by the continuance of the tempeſt, in regaining the eminence near the port, which the enemy had carried in the firſt aſſault, and where they afterwards fortified themſelves. The Rhodians attacked it, and were repulſed ſeveral times: but the forces of Demetrius, who defended it, perceiving freſh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at laſt, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, to the number of 400 men.

This ſeries of fortunate events was ſucceeded by the arrival of 500 men from Cnoſſus, a city of Crete, to the aſſiſtance of the Rhodians, and alſo of 500 more whom Ptolemy ſent from Egypt, moſt of them being Rhodians, who had liſted themſelves among the troops of that prince.

Demetrius, being extremely mortified to ſee all his batteries at the port rendered ineffectual, reſolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by aſſault, or reduce it to the

neceſſity of capitulating. He therefore prepared materials of every kind, and formed them into a machine called Helepolis, and which was larger than any that had ever been invented before. The baſis on which it ſtood was ſquare, and each of its ſides had an extent of 75 feet. The machine itſelf was an aſſemblage of large ſquare beams, rivetted together with iron, and the whole maſs reſted upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to the ſuperſtructure. The jaunts of theſe wheels were three feet thick, and ſtrengthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the helepolis, care had been taken to place caſters * under it, whoſe volubility rendered the machine moveable any way.

From each of the four angles a large column of wood was carried up to the height of about 150 feet, and mutually inclining to each other. The machine was compoſed of nine ſtories, whoſe dimenſions gradually leſſened in the aſcent. The firſt ſtory was ſupported by 43 beams, and the laſt by no more than nine.

Three ſides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were launched from the city.

In the front of each ſtory were little windows, whoſe form and dimenſions correſponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be ſhot from the machine. Over each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, ſtuffed with wool: this was let down by a machine for that purpoſe, and the intention of it was to break the force of whatever ſhould be diſcharged by the enemy againſt it.

Each ſtory had two large ſtair caſes, one for the aſcent of the men, and the other for their deſcent.

This machine was moved forwards by 3000 of the ſtrongeſt and moſt vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius alſo gave directions for building a great number of other machines, of different magnitudes, and for various uſes; he alſo employed his ſeamen in levelling the ground over which

* Monſ. Rollin informs us in a note, that he was obliged to retain the Greek term (Antiſtrepta) for want of a proper French word to render it by; but as the Engliſh language is not ſo defective in that particular, the tranſlator has expreſſed the Greek by the word Caſter, which, as well as the original word, ſignifies a wheel placed under a piece of work, in ſuch a manner as to render it convertible on all ſides, like thoſe little wheels affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with eaſe to any part of a room.

the

the machines were to move, which was 100 fathoms. The number of artizans and others, employed on these works, amounted to near 30,000 men, by which means they were finished with incredible expedition.

The Rhodians were not indolent during these formidable preparations, but employed their time in raising a counterwall on the tract of ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the helepolis; and, in order to accomplish this work, they demolished the wall which surrounded the theatre, as also several neighbouring houses, and even some temples, having solemnly promised the gods to build more magnificent structures for the celebration of their worship, after the siege should be raised.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the sea, they sent out nine of their best ships of war, divided into three squadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their bravest sea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, some galleys, and several smaller vessels, which they had taken, as also a great number of prisoners. They had likewise seized a galley richly laden, and in which were large quantities of tapestry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a present to her husband Demetrius, and accompanied with letters which she herself had written to him. The Rhodians sent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exasperated Demetrius. In this proceeding, says Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once seized some of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but those of Olympias, which they sent to Philip sealed as they were. There are some rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably observed, even with enemies.

While the ships of the republic were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great commotion happened at Rhodes, with respect to the statues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour to them, and till then were held in the utmost veneration. Some of the principal citizens were solicitous, in a public assembly, for an order to destroy the statues of those princes who then harassed them with such a cruel war; but the people, who were more discreet and moderate on this occasion than their chiefs, would not suffer that proposal to be executed. So wise and equitable a conduct, exclusively of all events, did the Rhodians no small honour; but should their city have been taken, it could not have failed to inspire the conqueror with impressions in their favour.

metrius having tried ſeveral mines without ſucceſs, from neceſſ being all diſcovered, and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the beſieged, gave orders, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general aſſault: in order to which the helepolis was moved to a ſituation from whence the city might be battered with the beſt effect. Each ſtory of this formidable engine was furniſhed with catapultas and baliſtas proportioned in their ſize to the dimenſions of the place. It was likewiſe ſupported and fortified on two of its ſides, by four ſmall machines called tortoiſes, each of which had a covered gallery, to ſecure thoſe who ſhould either enter the helepolis, or iſſue out of it, to execute different orders. On each ſide was a battering ram of a prodigious ſize, conſiſting of a piece of timber 30 fathoms in length, armed with iron terminating in a point, and as ſtrong as the beak of a galley. Theſe engines were mounted on wheels, and were made to batter the walls during the attack with incredible force, by near 1000 men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to ſound, and the general aſſault to be given on all ſides, both by ſea and land. In the heat of the attack, and when the walls were already ſhaken by the battering rams, ambaſſadors arrived from the Cnidians, and earneſtly ſolicited Demetrius to ſuſpend the aſſault, giving him hopes, at the ſame time, that they ſhould prevail upon the beſieged to ſubmit to an honourable capitulation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was accordingly granted; but the Rhodians refuſing to capitulate on the conditions propoſed to them, the attack was renewed with ſo much fury, and all the machines co-operated ſo effectually, that a large tower built with ſquare ſtones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The beſieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulſed their enemies.

In this conjuncture the veſſels which Ptolemy had freighted with 300,000 meaſures of corn, and different kinds of pulſe for the Rhodians, arrived very ſeaſonably in the port, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemy's ſhips, which cruized in the neighbourhood to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other ſmall fleets ſailed into the port; one was ſent by Caſſander, with 100,000 buſhels of barley; the other came from Lyſimachus, with 400,000 buſhels of corn, and as much barley. This ſeaſonable and abundant ſupply, which was received when the city began to be in want of proviſions, inſpired the beſieged with new courage, and they reſolved not to ſurrender till the laſt extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire

fire the enemy's machines, and with this view ordered a body of foldiers to march out of the city, that following midnight, with torches and all kinds of kindled wood. Thefe troops advanced to the batteries, and fet them on fire, and at the fame time innumerable arrows were fhot from the wall, to fupport the detachment againft thofe who fhould endeavour to extinguifh the flames. The befiegers loft great numbers of their men on this occafion, becaufe they were incapable, amidft the obfcurity of the night, either to fee, or avoid the vollies of arrows difcharged upon them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the helepolis during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuofity, in order to fet it on fire; but as the troops within that moving tower quenched it with water as faft as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their defign. However, Demetrius was apprehenfive that all his machines would be confumed; to prevent which, he caufed them to be removed with all poffible expedition.

Demetrius, being curious to know what number of machines the befieged had employed in cafting arrows, caufed all thofe which had been fhot from the place in the attack that night, to be gathered up; and when thefe were counted, and a proper computation made, he became fenfible that the inhabitants muft have more than 800 engines of different dimenfions for difcharging fires, and about 1500 for arrows. The prince was ftruck with conftternation at this number, as he did not think the city could have made fuch formidable preparations. He caufed his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing thofe who were wounded, and was as expeditious as poffible in repairing the machines which had been difmounted and rendered ufelefs.

The befieged, in order to improve the relaxation they enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were induftrious to fortify themfelves againft the new affault, for which the enemy were then preparing. To this purpofe they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind the breach, to obftruct the paffage of the enemy into the city; after which they raifed a fubftantial wall, in the form of a crefcent, along the ditch; and which would coft the enemy a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the fame time, to every other emergency, they detached a fquadron of the nimbleft fhips in their port, which took a great number of veffels laden with provifions and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. Thefe were foon followed by a numerous fleet of fmall veffels freighted with corn, and other neceffaries fent

them

them by Ptolemy, with 1500 men commanded by Antigonus nephew of Macedonia.

Demetrius, having reinstated his machines, caused them all to advance near the city, when a second embassy arrived at the camp from the Athenians, and some other states of Greece, on the same subject as the former, but with as little success. The king, whose imagination was fruitful of expedients for succeeding in his projects, detached 1500 of his troops, under the command of Alcimus and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight, and force the intrenchments behind it. They were then to possess themselves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make themselves masters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an expedition, and amuse the enemy with false attacks, he at the same time caused the signal to be sounded by all the trumpets, and the city to be attacked on all sides, both by sea and land, that the besieged finding sufficient employment in all parts, the 1500 men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of seizing all the advantageous posts about the theatre. This feint had all the success the prince expected from it. The troops having shouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus entered the breach, and made such a vigorous attack upon those who defended the ditch, and the crescent which covered it, that after they had killed a great number of the enemy, and put the rest into confusion, they seized the posts adjoining to the theatre, where they maintained themselves.

The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there, dispatched orders to their officers and soldiers not to quit their posts, nor make the least movement whatever. After which they placed themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those who were newly arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre: but the obscurity of the night rendered it impracticable to dislodge them from the posts they had seized, and the day no sooner appeared, than an universal cry of the besiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground, where they might soon expect succours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and dismal groans from the populace, women

men and children, who continued in the [illegible], and then concluded themselves inevitably lost. The battle, however, continued with great vigour at the theatre, and the Macedonians defended their posts with an intrepidity that astonished their enemies, till at last the Rhodians prevailing by their numbers, and perpetual supplies of fresh troops, the detachment, after having seen Alcimus and Mancius slain on the spot, were obliged to submit to superior force, and abandon a post it was no longer possible to maintain. Great numbers of them fell on the spot, and the rest were taken prisoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than abated by this check, and he was making the necessary dispositions for a new assault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, by which he was directed to take all possible measures for the conclusion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted some plausible pretext for discontinuing the siege, and chance supplied him with it. At that very instant deputies from Ætolia arrived at his camp, to solicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not so averse as before.

*If what Vegetius relates of the helepolis be true (and indeed Vitruvius seems to confirm it, with a small variation of circumstances), it might possibly be another motive, that contributed not a little to dispose Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his helepolis against the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely useless; he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to pass the ensuing day in order to approach the walls. The besiegers, not suspecting any stratagem of that nature, moved on the tower to the place undermined; which being incapable of supporting so enormous a load, sunk in under the machine, which buried itself so deep in the earth, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which these formidable engines were obnoxious; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raise the siege, and it is, at least, very probable, that it contributed not a little to his taking that resolution.

The Rhodians, on their part, were as desirous of an accommodation as himself, provided it could be effected upon reasonable terms. Ptolemy, in promising them fresh succours, much more considerable than the former, had earnestly exhorted them not to lose so favourable an occasion, if it should offer itself. Be-

* Veget. de Re Milit. c 4.

sides

ſides which, they were ſenſible of the extreme neceſſity they were under of putting an end to the ſiege, which could not but prove fatal to them at laſt. This conſideration induced them to liſten with pleaſure to the propoſals made them, and the treaty was concluded ſoon after upon the following terms. The republic of Rhodes, and all its citizens, ſhould retain the enjoyment of their rights, privileges, and liberty, without being ſubjected to any power whatſoever. The alliance they had always had with Antigonus was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in all future wars, provided it was not againſt Ptolemy. The city was alſo to deliver 100 hoſtages, to be choſen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the articles ſtipulated between them. When theſe hoſtages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after having beſieged it a year.

* Demetrius, who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was deſirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that diſpoſition; and accordingly preſented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that ſiege. Theſe they afterwards ſold for 300 talents, about 300,000 crowns, which they employed, with an additional ſum of their own, in making the famous Coloſſus, which was reputed one of the ſeven wonders of the world. It was a ſtatue of the ſun, of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, that ſhips in full ſail paſſed between its legs; the height of it was 70 cubits, or 150 feet, and few men could claſp its thumb with their arms. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and employed him for the ſpace of 12 years. Sixty-ſix years after its erection, it was thrown down by an earthquake; of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The Rhodians, to teſtify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the aſſiſtance he had given them in ſo dangerous a conjuncture, conſecrated a grove to that prince, after they had conſulted the oracle of Jupiter-Ammon, to give the action an air of ſolemnity; and to honour him the more, erected a magnificent work within it. They built a ſumptuous portico, and continued it along each ſide of the ſquare which encompaſſed it, containing a ſpace of 400 fathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemæon; and, out of flattery, as cuſtomary in thoſe days as impious in itſelf, divine honours were rendered to him in that place: and, in order to perpetuate their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which ſignifies a ſaviour, and is uſed by the hiſtorians to diſtinguiſh him from

* Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 7.

the

the other Ptolemies, who were his ſucceſſors on the throne of Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the ſeries of events that occurred at this ſiege, and therefore reſerved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taſte for the arts, and the eſteem he entertained for thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by peculiar merit in them; a circumſtance not a little for the glory of a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the reſidence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus, a city of Caria, which was then ſubject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted was in the ſuburbs, without the city, when Demetrius firſt beſieged it; but neither the preſence of the enemy, who then ſurrounded him, nor the noiſe of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or diſcontinue his work. The king was ſurpriſed at his conduct; and as he one day aſked him his reaſons for ſuch a proceeding, "It "is," replied he, "becauſe I am ſenſible you have declared war "againſt the Rhodians, and not againſt the ſciences." Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for Demetrius actually ſhowed himſelf their protector. He planted a guard round his houſe, that the artiſt might enjoy tranquillity, or, at leaſt, be ſecure from danger amidſt the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to ſee him work, and never ſufficiently admired the application of that maſter to his art, and his ſurpriſing excellency in it.

The maſter-piece of this painter was the Jalyſus, an hiſtorical picture of a perſon of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their founder, though only a * fabulous hero. Protogenes had employed ſeven years in finiſhing this piece; and when Apelles firſt ſaw it, he was tranſported with ſo much admiration, that his ſpeech failed him for ſome time; and when he at laſt began to recover from his aſtoniſhment, he cried out, "Prodigious work indeed! Admirable performance! It has "not, however, the graces I give my works, and which have "raiſed their reputation to the ſkies." If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he applied himſelf to this work, condemned himſelf to a very rigid and abſtemious life†, that the delicacy of his taſte and imagination might not be affected by his diet. This picture was carried to Rome, and conſe-

* He was the ſon of Orchimus, whoſe parents were the Sun and Rhoda, from whom the city and iſland derived their name.

† He ſubſiſted himſelf on boiled Lupines, a kind of pulſe which ſatisfied his hunger and thirſt at the ſame time.

crated

crated in the temple of Peace, where it remained to the time of Pliny; but it was at laſt deſtroyed by fire.

The ſame Pliny pretends, that Rhodes was ſaved by this picture; becauſe, as it hung in the only quarter by which it was poſſible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather choſe to abandon his conqueſt, than expoſe ſo precious a monument of art to the danger of being conſumed in the flames. This, indeed, would have been carrying his taſte and value for painting into a ſurpriſing extreme: but we have already ſeen the true reaſons which obliged Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege.

One of the figures in this picture was a dog, that was admired by all good judges, and had coſt the painter great application, without his being able to expreſs his idea to his own ſatisfaction, though he was ſufficiently pleaſed with all the reſt of the work. He endeavoured to repreſent the dog panting, and with his mouth foaming as after a long chace; and employed all the ſkill he was capable of exerting on that occaſion, without being able to content himſelf. Art, in his opinion, was more viſible than it ought to have been; a mere reſemblance would not ſuffice, and almoſt nothing but reality itſelf would ſatisfy him. He was deſirous that the foam ſhould not ſeem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and ſuffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to expreſs thoſe ſimple traces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till at laſt, in a violent emotion of rage and deſpair, he darted at the picture the very ſponge with which he uſed to wipe out his colours, and chance accompliſhed that which art had not been able to effect.

This painter is cenſured for being too difficult to be pleaſed, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain, that though Apelles almoſt regarded him as his maſter, and allowed him a number of excellent qualities, yet he condemned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finiſh his works; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting. "We ought," ſays Cicero*, "to know how far we "ſhould go; and Apelles juſtly cenſured ſome painters for not "knowing when to have done."

* In omnibus rebus videndum eſt quatenus—In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat, qui non ſentirent quid eſſet ſatis. Orat. n. 73.

SECT.

SECTION IX.

EXPEDITION OF SELEUCUS.—CASSANDER COMPELLED TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF ATHENS.—ANTIGONUS SLAIN.

THE farther we advance into the hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors, the more eaſily may we diſcover the ſpirit by which they were conſtantly actuated hitherto, and by which they will ſtill appear to be influenced. They at firſt concealed their real diſpoſitions, by nominating children, or perſons of weak capacities, to the regal dignity, in order to diſguiſe their own ambitious views. But as ſoon as all the family of Alexander was deſtroyed, they threw off the maſk, and diſcovered themſelves in their proper colours, and ſuch as, in reality, they had always been. They were all equally ſolicitous to ſupport themſelves in their ſeveral governments; to become entirely independent; to aſſume an abſolute ſovereignty, and enlarge the limits of their provinces and kingdoms at the expence of thoſe other governors, who were weaker or leſs ſucceſsful than themſelves. To this effect they employed the force of their arms, and entered into alliances, which they were always ready to violate, when they could derive more advantages from others, and they renewed them with the ſame facility from the ſame motives. They conſidered the vaſt conqueſts of Alexander as an inheritance deſtitute of a maſter, and which prudence obliged them to ſecure for themſelves, in as large portions as poſſible, without any apprehenſions of being reproached as uſurpers, for the acquiſition of countries gained by the victories of the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular perſon. This was the great motive of all the enterpriſes in which they engaged.

* Seleucus, as we formerly obſerved, was maſter of all the countries between the Euphrates and Indus, and was deſirous of acquiring thoſe that lay beyond the latter of thoſe rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable conjuncture of his union, in point of intereſt, with Ptolemy, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, and at a time when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the ſiege of Rhodes, and in awing the republics of Greece; in a word, while Antigonus himſelf was only intent upon becoming maſter of Syria and Phœnicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itſelf: Seleucus therefore thought it incumbent on him to improve this diverſion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear,

* A. M. 3701. Ant. J. C. 303.

for carrying his arms againſt the people of India, who were included in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to ſubdue by a ſudden irruption, altogether unexpected by king Sandrocotta. This perſon was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the ſpecious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raiſed an army, and augmented it ſo well by degrees, that he found means to drive the Macedonians out of all the provinces of India which Alexander had conquered, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in them, while the ſucceſſors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus paſſed the Indus, in order to regain thoſe provinces; but when he found that Sandrocotta had rendered himſelf abſolute maſter of all India, and had likewiſe an army of 600,000 men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack ſo potent a prince, but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretenſions to that country, provided Sandrocotta would furniſh him with 500 elephants; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the final reſult of Alexander's Indian conqueſts! This the fruit of ſo much blood ſhed to gratify the frantic ambition of one prince! Seleucus ſhortly after led his troops into the weſt againſt Antigonus, as I ſhall ſoon obſerve. The abſolute neceſſity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of the ſtrongeſt inducements for concluding ſo ſudden a peace with the Indian prince.

* The Athenians, at the ſame time, called in Demetrius to aſſiſt them againſt Caſſander, who beſieged their city. He accordingly ſet ſail with 330 galleys, and a great body of foot, and not only drove Caſſander out of Attica, but purſued him as far as Thermopylæ, where he defeated him, and made himſelf maſter of Heraclea, which ſurrendered voluntarily. He alſo admitted into his ſervice 6000 Macedonians, who came over to his ſide.

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had always laviſhed upon him all the honours they were able to invent, had recourſe to new flatteries that outdid the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called Partheon; but even this place, which had ſo much ſanctity aſcribed to it by the people, and was the manſion of a virgin goddeſs, he did not ſcruple to profane by the moſt infamous and crying debaucheries. His courteſans were

* Diod. l. xx. p. 825—828. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899.

there

there treated with more honour than the goddeſs herſelf, and were the only divinities he adored. * He even cauſed altars to be erected to them by the Athenians, whom he called abject wretches, for their mean compliance, and creatures born only for ſlavery; ſo much was even this prince ſhocked at ſuch deſpicable adulation, as Tacitus obſerved with reſpect to Tiberius †.

Democles, ſurnamed the Fair, and of a very tender age, threw himſelf, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a veſſel of boiling water prepared for a bath, and there loſt his life, chooſing rather to die than violate his modeſty. The Athenians, to appeaſe the reſentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had publiſhed with relation to him, iſſued a new one, importing, "That it was ordered and "adjudged by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius "might think fit to command, ſhould be conſidered as ſacred "in regard to the gods, and juſt with regard to men." Is it poſſible to believe, that flattery and ſervitude could be carried to ſuch an exceſs of baſeneſs, extravagance, and irreligion!

Demetrius, after theſe proceedings, retired into Peloponneſus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himſelf powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyone, Corinth, and ſeveral others, where he had garriſons. And as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand feſtival in honour of Juno, he was deſirous of celebrating it, by propoſing prizes, and preſiding in perſon among the Greeks. In order to ſolemnize it more effectually, he eſpouſed, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides, king of the Moloſſians, and ſiſter of Pyrrhus.

‡ The ſtates of Greece being aſſembled in the Iſthmus, and curioſity having drawn a vaſt number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himſelf abundantly ſuperior, ſo much was he intoxicated with the ſucceſs of his arms, and the flattery laviſhed upon him.

When he was upon his departure from Peloponneſus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city, that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated in the great

* Athen. l. vi. p. 253.

† Memoriæ proditur, Tiberium, quoties curia egrederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui ſolitum: "O homines ad ſervitutem paratos!" Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projectæ ſervientium patientiæ tædebat. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 65.

‡ Plut. in Demetr. p. 900.

and leſſer myſteries at the ſame time. This had never been permitted before; for it was neceſſary to obſerve certain intervals; it being lawful to celebrate the leſſer myſteries only in the month of March *, and the greater in that of October. In order therefore to obviate this inconvenience, and ſatisfy ſo religious a prince, it was ordered, that the then preſent month of May ſhould be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of October; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duly initiated, without infringing the cuſtoms and ceremonials preſcribed by the law.

But of all the abuſes committed at Athens, that which moſt afflicted and mortified the inhabitants was an order iſſued by Demetrius, for immediately furniſhing the ſum of 250 talents; and when this money had been collected without the leaſt delay or abatement, the prince, the moment he ſaw it amaſſed together, ordered it to be given to Lamia, and the other courteſans in her company, for waſhes and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loſs, and reſented the application of that ſum to a greater degree than their contribution to it.

Lamia, as if this terrible expence had not been ſufficient, being deſirous to regale Demetrius at a feaſt, extorted money from ſeveral of the richeſt Athenians by her own private authority. The entertainment coſt immenſe ſums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleaſantry of a comic poet, who ſaid, that Lamia was a true helepolis. We have already ſhown, that the helepolis was a machine invented by Demetrius for attacking towns.

† Caſſander finding himſelf vigorouſly preſſed by Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace without ſubmitting entirely to the diſcretion of Antigonus, agreed with Lyſimachus to ſend ambaſſadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to repreſent to them the ſituation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made it evident, that he had no leſs in view than to diſpoſſeſs all the other ſucceſſors of Alexander, and uſurp the whole empire to himſelf; and that it was time to form a ſtrict alliance with each other, to humble his exorbitant power. They were likewiſe offended, and Lyſimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to

* There are various opinions with relation to the months in which theſe myſteries were celebrated.

† A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302. Diod. l. xx. p. 830—836. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 4.

treat

treat the other kings in their converſation at his table, appropriating the regal title to himſelf and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a ſhip, Seleucus a commander of elephants, and Lyſimachus a treaſurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by theſe four kings, after which they haſtened into Aſſyria, to make preparations for this new war.

The firſt operations of it were commenced at the Helleſpont, Caſſander and Lyſimachus having judged it expedient, that the former ſhould continue in Europe, to defend it againſt Demetrius, and that the latter ſhould invade the provinces of Antigonus in Aſia, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their own kingdoms, without leaving them too deſtitute of forces. Lyſimachus executed his part conformably to the agreement, paſſed the Helleſpont with a fine army, and, either by treaty or force, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and moſt of the territories between the Propontis and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was then at Antigonia, which he had lately built in Upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the ſolemn games he had there eſtabliſhed. This news, with that of ſeveral other revolts, tranſmitted to him at the ſame time, cauſed him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly diſmiſſed the aſſembly upon the ſpot, and made preparations for advancing againſt the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmoſt expedition over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he took out of the public treaſury of Synada, a city of that province, as much money as he wanted, and then augmented his troops to the number he thought neceſſary. After which he advanced directly towards the enemy, and retook ſeveral places in his march. Lyſimachus thought proper to be upon the defenſive, till the arrival of the ſuccours upon their march to join him from Seleucus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year, therefore, elapſed without any action, and each party retired into winter-quarters.

* Seleucus, at the beginning of the next ſeaſon, formed his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappadocia, to act againſt Antigonus. This latter ſent immediately for Demetrius, who left Greece with great expedition, marched to Epheſus, and retook that city, with ſeveral others that had declared for Lyſimachus upon his arrival in Aſia.

Ptolemy improved the opportunity in Syria, of the abſence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœloſy-

* A. M. 3703. Ant. J. C. 301.

ria, except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garrifons. He, indeed, formed the ſiege of Sidon; but whilſt his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lyſimachus, and was advancing to relieve the place. Upon this information he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the hiſtory of Diodorus Siculus, in a period of the greateſt importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's ſucceſſors is to be decided.

* The confederate army, commanded by Seleucus and Lyſimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived at Phrygia almoſt at the ſame time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had above 60,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 75 elephants. The enemy's forces conſiſted of 64,000 foot, 10,500 horſe, 400 elephants, with 120 chariots armed with ſcythes. The battle was fought near Ipſus, a city of Phrygia.

As ſoon as the ſignal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his beſt cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the ſon of Seleucus, and behaved with ſo much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to flight: but a raſh and inconſiderate thirſt of glory, which generals can never ſuſpect too much, and has been fatal to many, prompted Demetrius to purſue the fugitives with too much ardour, and without any conſideration for the reſt of the army; by which means he loſt the victory he might eaſily have ſecured, had he improved his firſt advantage aright. For when he returned from the purſuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having filled up all the intermediate ſpace. When Seleucus ſaw the infantry of Antigonus ſeparated from their cavalry, he only made ſeveral feint attacks upon them, ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them ſufficient time to quit the army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and this was at laſt the expedient on which they reſolved. The greateſt part of the infantry detached themſelves from the reſt, and ſurrendered in a voluntary manner to Seleucus, and the others were all put to flight.

At the ſame inſtant a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who ſuſtained their efforts for ſome time, but being at laſt

* Plut. in Demetr. p. 902.

overwhelmed

overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead on the earth, having defended himself valiantly to his last gasp. Demetrius, seeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together; and retired to Ephesus, with 5000 foot, and 4000 horse; which were all that remained of more than 60,000 men, whom his father and himself commanded at the beginning of the engagement. *The great Pyrrhus, as young as he then was, was inseparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that opposed him, and gave an essay, in this first action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.

CHAPTER II.

THIS second chapter includes the space of 55 years; namely, the last 15 years of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who had already reigned 23, which with the other 15 make 38; and 48 years more, being the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus

SECTION I.

THE FOUR VICTORIOUS PRINCES DIVIDE THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT INTO AS MANY KINGDOMS.

AFTER the battle of Ipsus†, the four confederate princes divided the dominions of Antigonus among themselves, and added them to those they already possessed. The empire of Alexander was thus divided into four kingdoms, of which Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cœlosyria, and Palestine; Cassander had Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, with the Bosphorus; and Seleucus all the rest of Asia, to the other side of the Euphrates, and as far as the Indus. The dominions of this last prince are usually called the kingdom of Syria, because Seleucus, who afterwards built Antioch in that province, made it the chief seat of his residence, in which he was followed by his successors, who from his name were called Seleucidæ. This kingdom, however, not only included Syria, but those vast and fertile provinces of Upper Asia which constituted the Persian empire. The reign of 20 years, which I have assigned to Seleucus Nica-

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 384.

† Plut. in Demetr. p. 902. Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Polyb. l. xv. p. 572.

tor,

tor, commences at this period, becauſe he was not acknowledged as king, till after the battle of Ipſus; and if we add to theſe the 12 years, during which he exerciſed the regal authority without the title, they will make out the reign of 31 years aſſigned him by Uſher.

Theſe four kings * are the four horns of the he-goat in the prophecy of Daniel, who ſucceeded in the place of the firſt horn that was broken. The firſt horn was Alexander, king of Greece, who deſtroyed the empire of the Medes and Perſians, deſigned by the ram with two horns; and the other four horns, are thoſe four kings who roſe up after him, and divided his empire among them, but they were not of his poſterity.

They are likewiſe ſhadowed out by the four heads of the leopard, which are introduced in another part of the ſame prophecy†.

Theſe prophecies of Daniel were exactly accompliſhed by this laſt partition of Alexander's empire; other diviſions had, indeed, been made before this, but they were only of provinces, which were conſigned to governors, under the brother and ſon of Alexander, and none but the laſt was the regal partition. Thoſe prophecies, therefore, are to be underſtood of this alone, for they evidently repreſent theſe four ſucceſſors of Alexander, in the quality of four kings, "four ſtood up for it." But not one of Alexander's ſucceſſors obtained the regal dignity, till about three years before the laſt diviſion of the empire. And even this dignity was at firſt precarious, as being aſſumed by each of the ſeveral parties, merely by his own authority, and not acknowledged by any of the reſt. Whereas, after the battle of Ipſus, the treaty made between the four confederates, when they had defeated their adverſary, and diveſted him of his dominions, aſſigned each of them their dominions under the appellation of ſo many kingdoms, and authorized and acknowledged them as kings and ſovereigns, independent of any ſuperior power. Theſe four kings are, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus.

We can never ſufficiently admire, in this and the other places, wherein the completion of the prophecies of Daniel will be obſerved, the ſtrong light with which the prophet penetrates the thick gloom of futurity, at a time when there was not the leaſt appearance of all he foretells. With how much certainty and exactneſs, even amidſt the variety of theſe revolutions and a chaos

* See Dan. chap. viii. 5, 6, 7, 8. & 20, 21, 22.
† See Dan. vii. 6.

of

of ſingular events, does he determine each particular circumſtance, and fix the number of the ſeveral ſucceſſors! How expreſsly has he pointed out the nation that was to be the Grecian; deſcribed the countries they were to poſſeſs; meaſured the duration of their empires, and the extent of their power, inferior to that of Alexander; in a word, with what lively colours has he drawn the characters of thoſe princes, and ſpecified their alliances, treaties, treachery, marriages, and ſucceſs! Can any one poſſibly aſcribe to chance, or human foreſight, ſo many circumſtantial predictions, which, at the time of their being denounced, were ſo remote from probability; and may we not evidently diſcover in them the character and traces of the Divinity, to whom all ages are preſent in one view, and who alone determines at his will the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world? But it is now time for us to reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

* Onias, the firſt of that name, and high-prieſt of the Jews, died about this time, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Simon, who, for the ſanctity of his life, and the equity of all his actions, was ſurnamed the Juſt. He enjoyed the pontificate for the ſpace of nine years.

† Seleucus, after the death of Antigonus, made himſelf maſter of Upper Syria, where he built Antioch on the Orontes, and gave it that name, either from his father, or his ſon, for they were both called Antiochus. This city, where the Syrian kings afterwards reſided, was the capital of the Eaſt for a long time, and ſtill preſerved that privilege under the Roman emperors. Antigonus had lately built a city at a ſmall diſtance from this, and called it Antigonia; but Seleucus had entirely demoliſhed it, and employed the materials in the conſtruction of his own city, to which he afterwards tranſplanted the inhabitants of the former.

‡ Among ſeveral other cities built by Seleucus in this country, there were three more remarkable than the reſt: the firſt was called Seleucia, from his own name; the ſecond, Apamea, from his conſort of that name, who was the daughter of Artabazus the Perſian; the third was Laodicea, ſo denominated from his mother. Apamea and Seleucia were ſituated on the ſame river on which Antioch was built, and Laodicea was in the ſouthern part of the ſame quarter. He allowed the Jews

* Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

† A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300. Strab. l. xvi. p. 739, 750. Appian. in Syr. p. 124. Juſtin l. xv. c. 4.

‡ Strab. l. xvi. p. 750.

the

the ſame privileges and immunities in each of theſe new cities, as were enjoyed by the Greeks and Macedonians, and eſpecially at Antioch in Syria, where that people ſettled in ſuch numbers, that they poſſeſſed as conſiderable a part of that city as their other countrymen enjoyed at Alexandria.

Demetrius had withdrawn himſelf to Epheſus, after the battle of Ipſus, and, from thence, embarked for Greece, his whole reſource being limited to the affection of the Athenians, with whom he had left his fleet, money, and wife Deidamia. But he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed and offended, when he was met in his way by ambaſſadors from the Athenians, who came to acquaint him that he could not be admitted into their city, becauſe the people had, by a decree, prohibited the reception of any of the kings: they alſo informed him that his conſort Deidamia had been conducted to Megara, with all the honours and attendance due to her dignity. Demetrius was then ſenſible of the value of honours and homages extorted by fear, and which did not proceed from the will. The poſture of his affairs not permitting him to revenge the perfidy of that people, he contented himſelf with intimating his complaints to them in a moderate manner, and demanded his galleys, among which was that prodigious galley of 16 benches of oars. As ſoon as he had received them, he ſailed towards the Cherſoneſus; and having committed ſome devaſtations in the territories of Lyſimachus, he enriched his army with the ſpoils, and by that expedient prevented the deſertion of his troops, who now began to recover their vigour, and render themſelves formidable anew.

Lyſimachus, king of Thrace, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf in his dominions, entered into a particular treaty with Ptolemy, and ſtrengthened the alliance between them, by eſpouſing one of his daughters, named Arſinoe; ſhortly after which, his ſon Agathocles married another.

* This double alliance between Lyſimachus and Ptolemy gave umbrage to Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with Demetrius, and eſpouſed Stratonice, the daughter of that prince, by Phila, the ſiſter of Caſſander. The beauty of that princeſs, had induced Seleucus to demand her in marriage; and as the affairs of Demetrius were at that time in a very bad condition, ſo honourable an alliance with ſo powerful a prince was exceedingly agreeable to him. In conſequence of which he immediately conducted his daughter with all his fleet into Syria from Greece, where he was ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome places. Dur-

* A. M. 3705. Ant. J. C. 299. Plut. in Demet. p. 903.

ing

ing his paſſage, he made a deſcent on Cilicia, which then belonged to Pliſtarchus, the brother of Caſſander, to whom it had been aſſigned by the four kings, who divided the dominions of Alexander the Great after the death of Antigonus. Pliſtarchus went to complain of this proceeding to Seleucus, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy without the conſent of the other kings, which he conſidered as an infraction of the treaty. Demetrius, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of Synada, where the treaſures of the province, amounting to 1200 talents*, were depoſited. Theſe he carried off with all expedition to his fleet, and then ſet ſail for Syria, where he found Seleucus, and gave him the princeſs Stratonice in marriage. Demetrius, after ſome days paſſed in rejoicings for the nuptials, and entertainments given on each ſide, returned to Cilicia, and made himſelf maſter of the whole province. He then ſent his wife Phila to Caſſander, in order to excuſe this proceeding. Theſe kings imitated the princes of the eaſt, with whom it is cuſtomary to have ſeveral wives at the ſame time.

During theſe tranſactions of Demetrius, Deidamia, another of his wives, who had taken a journey to meet him in Greece, and had paſſed ſome time with him in that country, was ſeized with an indiſpoſition that ended her days. † Demetrius having reconciled himſelf with Ptolemy, by the mediation of Seleucus, eſpouſed Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy; by which means his affairs began to aſſume a better aſpect; for he had all the iſland of Cyprus, and the two rich and powerful cities of Tyre and Sidon, beſide his new conqueſts in Cilicia.

It was very imprudent in Seleucus to permit ſo dangerous an enemy to eſtabliſh himſelf at ſo ſmall a diſtance from him, and to uſurp from one of his allies a province ſo near his own dominions as Cilicia. All this ſhows that theſe princes had no eſtabliſhed rules and principles of conduct, and were even ignorant of the true intereſts of their ambition; for as to faith of treaty, equity, and gratitude, they had long ſince renounced them all, and only reigned for the unhappineſs of their people, as the author of the firſt book of Maccabees has obſerved ‡.

The eyes of Seleucus were however open at laſt, and in order to prevent his having a neighbour of ſuch abilities on each ſide of his dominions, he required Demetrius to ſurrender Cilicia to him for a very conſiderable ſum of money; but that prince

* 1,200,000 crowns. † A. M. 3706. Ant. J. C. 298.
‡ Chap. i. ver. 9, 10.

not

not being disposed to comply with such a proposal, Seleucus insisted upon his restoring him the cities of Tyre and Sidon that depended on Syria, of which he was king. Demetrius, enraged at this demand, replied very abruptly, that though he should lose several other battles as fatal to him as that of Ipsus, he should never resolve to purchase the friendship of Seleucus at so high a price. At the same time he failed to those two cities, where he reinforced their garrisons, and furnished them with all things necessary for a vigorous defence; by which means the intention of Seleucus to take them from him was rendered ineffectual at that time. This proceeding of Seleucus was very conformable to the rules of political interest, but had such an odious aspect, with reference to the maxims of honour, that it shocked all mankind, and was universally condemned; for as his dominions were of such a vast extent as to include all the countries between India and the Mediterranean, how insatiable was that rigour and avidity, which would not permit him to leave his father-in-law the peaceable enjoyment of the shattered remains of his fortune.

*Cassander died about this time of a dropsy, after having governed Macedonia for the space of nine years, from the death of his father, and six or seven from the last partition. He left three sons by Thessalonica, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great. Philip, who succeeded him, and died soon after, left the crown to be contested by his two brothers.

† Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, had espoused Antigona, a relation of Ptolemy, in Egypt. This young prince was the son of Æacides, whom the Molossians, in a revolt, had expelled from the throne; and it was with great difficulty, that Pyrrhus himself, then an infant at the breast, was preserved from the fury of the revolters, who pursued him with intent to destroy him. After various adventures, he was conducted to the court of king Glaucias in Illyria, where he was taken into the protection of that prince. Cassander, the mortal enemy of Æacides, solicited the king to deliver the young prince into his hands, and offered him 200 talents on that occasion: Glaucias, however, was struck with horror at such a proposal, and when the infant had attained the twelfth year of his age, he conducted him in person to Epirus with a powerful army, and reinstated him in his dominions; by which means the Molossians were compelled to submit to force. Justin tells us, that their hatred being softened into compassion, they themselves recalled

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 383—385. † A. M. 3707. Ant. J. C. 297.

him,

him, and assigned him guardians to govern the kingdom till he should be of age himself; but there seems to be no great probability in his account.

When he had attained his 17th year, he began to think himself sufficiently established on the throne, and set out from his capital city for Illyria, in order to be present at the nuptials of one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been brought up. The Molossians, taking advantage of his absence, revolted a second time, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, seized all his treasures, and conferred the crown on Neoptolemus, his great-uncle. Pyrrhus being thus divested of his dominions, and finding himself destitute of all succours, retired to his brother-in-law Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had espoused his sister Deidamia.

This young prince distinguished himself among the bravest in the battle that was fought on the plains of Ipsus, and would not forsake Demetrius, even after he was defeated. He also preserved for him those Grecian cities which that prince had confided to him; and when a treaty of peace was concluded between Ptolemy and Demetrius, by the mediation of Seleucus, Pyrrhus went into Egypt as an hostage for his brother-in-law.

During his continuance at the court of Ptolemy, he gave sufficient proofs of his strength, address, and extraordinary patience, in hunting, exercises, and all other labours. Observing, that of all the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest ascendant over him, and that she surpassed the others in prudence, as well as beauty, he attached himself to her in particular; for as he was already an able politician, he neglected no opportunity of making his court to those on whom his fortune depended, and was studious to ingratiate himself with such persons as were capable of being useful to him. His noble and engaging demeanour procured him such a share in Ptolemy's esteem, that he gave him Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, his favourite consort, in preference of several young princes who demanded her in marriage. This lady was the daughter of Berenice, by Philip her first husband, who was a Macedonian lord, little known with respect to any other particular. When Pyrrhus had espoused Antigone, the queen had so much influence over her consort, as to induce him to grant his son-in-law a fleet, with a supply of money, which enabled him to repossess himself of his dominions. Here began the fortune of an exiled prince, who was afterwards esteemed the greatest general of his age; and it must be acknowledged, that every instance of his

early conduct denoted extraordinary merit, and raised great expectations of his future glory.

* Athens, as we have already observed, revolted from Demetrius, and shut her gates against him. But when that prince thought he had sufficiently provided for the security of his territories in Asia, he marched against that rebellious and ungrateful city, with a resolution to punish her as she deserved. The first year was employed in the reduction of the Messenians, and the conquest of some other cities who had quitted his party; but he returned the next season to Athens, which he closely blocked up, and reduced to the last extremity, by cutting off all communication of provisions. † A fleet of 150 sail, sent by king Ptolemy to succour the Athenians, and which appeared on the coasts of Ægina, afforded them but a transient joy; for when this naval force saw a strong fleet arrive from Peloponnesus to the assistance of Demetrius, beside a great number of other vessels from Cyprus, and that the whole amounted to 300, they weighed anchor, and fled.

Although the Athenians had issued a decree, by which they made it capital for any person even to mention a peace with Demetrius, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, obliged them to open their gates to him. When he entered the city, he commanded the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed troops, and posted his guards on each side of the stage where the dramatic pieces were performed; and then descending from the upper part of the theatre, in the manner usual with the actors, he showed himself to that multitude, who seemed rather dead than living, and waited for the event in inexpressible terror, expecting it would prove the sentence for their destruction: but he dissipated their apprehensions by the first expressions he uttered; for he did not raise his voice like a man affected with the emotions of rage, nor deliver himself in any passionate or insulting language, but softened the tone of his voice, and only addressed himself to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations. He pardoned their offence, and restored them to his favour; presenting them, at the same time, with 100,000 measures of corn, and reinstating such magistrates as were most agreeable to them. The joy of this people may be easily conceived from the terrors with which they were before affected; and how glorious must such a prince

* A. M. 3708. Ant. J. C. 296. Plut. in Demetr. p. 904, 905.
† A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 295.

be,

be, who could always support so glorious, so admirable a character!

When he had regulated the state of affairs in Athens, he determined to reduce the Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, their king, advanced as far as Mantinæa to meet him; but Demetrius defeated him in a great battle, and obliged him to have recourse to flight; after which he advanced into Laconia, and fought another battle in the very sight of Sparta. He was again victorious; 500 of the enemy were made prisoners, and 200 killed upon the spot, so that he was already considered as master of the city, which had never been taken before.

In that important moment he received two pieces of intelligence, which affected him in a quite different manner. The first was, that Lysimachus had lately divested him of all his territories in Asia; and the other, that Ptolemy had made a descent on Cyprus, and conquered all the island, except Salamina, where the mother of Demetrius, with his wife and children, had retired; and that the king of Egypt carried on the siege of that city with great vigour. Demetrius left all to fly to their assistance, but was soon informed that the place had surrendered. Ptolemy had the generosity to give the mother, wife, and children of his enemy, their liberty without any ransom, and to dismiss them with all their attendants and effects. He even made them magnificent presents at their departure, which he accompanied with all imaginable marks of honour.

The loss of Cyprus was soon succeeded by that of Tyre and Sidon; and Seleucus dispossessed him of Cilicia on another side. Thus, in a very short time, he saw himself divested of all his dominions, without any resources or hopes for the future.

SECTION II.

DISPUTE BETWEEN THE TWO SONS OF CASSANDER.—DEMETRIUS PROCLAIMED KING OF MACEDONIA.

No prince was ever obnoxious to greater vicissitudes of fortune, or ever experienced more sudden changes, than Demetrius. He exposed himself to these events by his imprudence, amusing himself with inconsiderable conquests, while he abandoned his provinces to the first invader. His greatest successes were immediately followed by his being dispossessed of all his dominions, and almost reduced to despair, when suddenly an unexpected resource offered itself from a quarter where he had not the least room to expect it.

* In the quarrel between the two ſons of Caſſander for the crown, Theſſalonica, their mother, favoured Alexander, who was the youngeſt; which ſo enraged Antipater, the eldeſt ſon, that he killed her with his own hands, though ſhe conjured him, by the breaſts that had nouriſhed him, to ſpare her life. Alexander, in order to avenge this unnatural barbarity, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Pyrrhus and Demetrius. Pyrrhus arrived the firſt, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as a compenſation for the aid he had given Alexander; and he returned to his own dominions, after he had reconciled the two brothers. Demetrius made his approach at the ſame inſtant, upon which Alexander advanced to meet him; and teſtified, at the interview between them, all imaginable gratitude and friendſhip; but repreſented to him, at the ſame time, that the ſtate of his affairs was changed, and that he no longer had any need of his aſſiſtance. Demetrius was diſpleaſed with this compliment, whilſt Alexander, who dreaded the greatneſs of his power, was apprehenſive of ſubjecting himſelf to a maſter, ſhould he admit him into his dominions. They, however, converſed together with an external air of friendſhip, and entertained each other with reciprocal feaſts, till at laſt Demetrius, upon ſome intelligence, either true or contrived, that Alexander intended to deſtroy him, prevented the execution of that deſign, and killed him. This murder armed the Macedonians againſt him at firſt, but when he had acquainted them with all the particulars that occaſioned his conduct, the averſion they entertained for Antipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother, induced them to declare for Demetrius, and they accordingly proclaimed him king of Macedonia. Demetrius poſſeſſed this crown for the ſpace of ſeven years, and Antipater fled into Thrace, where he did not long ſurvive the loſs of his kingdom.

One of the branches of the royal family of Philip, king of Macedonia, became entirely extinct by the death of Theſſalonica, and her two ſons; as the other branch from Alexander the Great had before by the death of the young Alexander and Hercules, his two ſons. Thus theſe two princes, who by their unjuſt wars had ſpread deſolation through ſo many provinces, and deſtroyed ſuch a number of royal families, experienced, by a juſt decree of Providence, the ſame calamities in their own families, as they had occaſioned to others. Philip and Alexander, with their wives, and all their deſcendants, periſhed by violent deaths.

* A. M. 3710. Ant. J. C. 294. Plut. in Demetr. p. 905. in Pyrrh. p. 386. Juſtin. l. xvi. c. 1.

Much

* Much about this time Seleucus built the city of Seleucia on the banks of the Tigris, and at the distance of 40 miles from Babylon. It became very populous in a short time, and Pliny tells us it was inhabited by 600,000 persons. The dikes of the Euphrates being broken down, spread such an inundation over the country, and the branch of that river which passed through Babylon was sunk so low by this evacuation, as to be rendered unnavigable, by which means that city become so incommodious, that, as soon as Seleucia was built, all its inhabitants withdrew thither. This circumstance prepared the way for the accomplishment of that celebrated prophecy of Isaiah, who, at a time when this city was in the most flourishing condition, had foretold, that it should one day become entirely desert and uninhabited. † I have observed elsewhere by what manner and degrees this prediction was fully accomplished.

‡ Simon, surnamed the Just, and high-priest of the Jews, died at the close of the ninth year of his pontificate, and left a young son, named Onias. As he was of too tender an age to take upon himself the exercise of that dignity, it was consigned to Eleazar the brother of Simon, who discharged the function of it for the space of 15 years.

§ I here pass over some events of small importance, and proceed to Demetrius, who, believing himself sufficiently settled in Greece and Macedonia, began to make preparations for regaining the empire of his father in Asia. With this view he raised an army of 100,000 men, and fitted out a great fleet of 500 sail; in a word, so great an armament had never been seen, since the time of Alexander the Great. Demetrius animated the workmen by his presence and instructions, visited them in person, directed them how to act, and even assisted them in their labours. The number of his galleys, and their extraordinary dimensions, created an universal astonishment; for ships of six, and even five benches of oars, had never been seen till then; and Ptolemy Philopater did not build one of forty benches till many years after this period‖; but then it was only for pomp and ostentation,

* A. M. 3711. Ant. J. C. 293. Strab. l. xvi. p. 738. et 743. Plin. l. vi. c. 26.

† Vol. II. At the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.

‡ A. M. 3712. Ant. J. C. 292. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

§ A. M. 3716. Ant. J. C. 288. Plut. in Demetr. p. 909, et in Pyrrh. p. 386. Justin. l. xvi. c. 2.

‖ This galley was 280 cubits (about 420 feet) in length, and 28 cubits (72 feet) from the keel to the top of the poop. It carried 400 sailors, besides 4000 rowers, and near 3000 soldiers, who were disposed in the spaces between the rowers, and on the lower deck. Plut. in Demet.

whereas thoſe which Demetrius built were extremely uſeful in battle, and more admirable for their lightneſs and agility than their grandeur and magnificence.

*Ptolemy, Lyſimachus, and Seleucus, receiving intelligence of theſe formidable preparations of Demetrius, immediately caught the alarm; and in order to fruſtrate their effect, renewed their alliance, in which they likewiſe engaged Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; in conſequence of which, when Lyſimachus began to invade Macedonia on one ſide, Pyrrhus was carrying on the ſame operations on the other. Demetrius, who was then making preparations in Greece for his intended expedition into Aſia, advanced with all ſpeed to defend his own dominions; but before he was able to arrive there, Pyrrhus had taken Beræa, one of the moſt conſiderable cities in Macedonia, where he found the wives, children, and effects of a great number of ſoldiers belonging to Demetrius. This news cauſed ſo great a diſorder in the army of that prince, that a conſiderable part of his troops abſolutely refuſed to follow him, and declared, with an air of mutiny and ſedition, that they would return to defend their families and effects. In a word, things were carried to ſuch an extremity, that Demetrius, perceiving he no longer had any influence over them, fled to Greece in the diſguiſe of a common ſoldier, and his troops went over to Pyrrhus, whom they proclaimed king of Macedonia.

The different characters of theſe two princes greatly contributed to this ſudden revolution. Demetrius, who conſidered vain pomp, and ſuperb magnificence, as true grandeur, rendered himſelf contemptible to the Macedonians, in the very circumſtance by which he thought to obtain their eſteem. He ambitiouſly loaded his head with a double diadem, like a theatrical monarch, and wore purple robes enriched with a profuſion of gold. The ornaments of his feet were altogether extraordinary; and he had long employed artiſts to make him a mantle, on which the ſyſtem of the world, with all the ſtars viſible in the firmament, were to be embroidered in gold. The change of his fortune prevented the finiſhing of this work, and no future king would preſume to wear it.

But that which rendered him ſtill more odious, was his being ſo difficult of approach. He was either ſo imperious and diſdainful, as not to allow thoſe who had any affairs to tranſact with him the liberty of ſpeech, or elſe he treated them with ſo much rudeneſs, as obliged them to quit his preſence with diſguſt. One day, when he came out of his palace, and walked through the

* A. M. 3717. Ant. J. C. 287.

ſtreets

ſtreets with a mien of more affability than it was uſual for him to aſſume, ſome perſons were encouraged to preſent a few petitions to him. He received them with a gracious air, and placed them in one of the folds of his robe; but as he was paſſing over a bridge on the river Axius*, he threw all thoſe petitions into the ſtream. A prince muſt certainly know very little of mankind, not to be ſenſible that ſuch a contemptuous behaviour is ſufficient to provoke his ſubjects to revolt from his authority. On this occaſion, an action of the great Philip was recollected, and which has been related among the events of his reign. That prince had refuſed audience to a poor woman, under pretext that he wanted leiſure to hear her. "Be no longer king then," replied ſhe with ſome emotion; and Philip, from thenceforth, made it a maxim with himſelf to grant his ſubjects long and frequent audiences: for, as Plutarch obſerves on that occaſion, *The moſt indiſpenſable duty of a king, is to exert himſelf in the adminiſtration of juſtice.*

The Macedonians had formed a very different idea of Pyrrhus. They had heard it reported, and were ſenſible by their own experience, that affability was natural to him, and that he was always mild and acceſſible; they were convinced of his promptitude to recompence the ſervices rendered him, and he was ſlow to anger and ſeverity. Some young officers, over their liquor, had vented ſeveral offenſive pleaſantries againſt him. The particulars of their converſation were related to Pyrrhus himſelf, who ordered them to be brought into his preſence, and then aſked them, if they had expreſſed themſelves in the manner he had heard? "Yes, my lord," replied one of the company, "and "we ſhould have added a great deal more, if we had had more "wine." Pyrrhus could not forbear laughing at this facetious and ſprightly turn, and diſmiſſed them from his preſence without further notice.

The Macedonians thought him much ſuperior to Demetrius, even in military merit. He had beat them on ſeveral occaſions, but their admiration of his bravery was greater than their reſentment for their defeat. It was a common expreſſion with them, that other princes imitated Alexander in nothing but their purple robes, the number of their guards, the affectation of inclining their heads like his, and their imperious manner of ſpeaking; but that Pyrrhus was the only one who repreſented that monarch in his great and laudable qualities. Pyrrhus himſelf was not altogether free from vanity, with reſpect to the reſemblance

* A river of Upper Macedonia.

of

of his own features to thoſe of Alexander*, but a good matron of Lariſſa, in whoſe houſe he once lodged, had undeceived him in that particular, by an anſwer, perhaps not at all agreeable to him. The Macedonians, however, thought they diſcovered in him the aſpect of that prince; with all the fire of his eyes, and the vivacity, promptitude, and impetuoſity with which he charged his enemies, and bore down all who preſumed to oppoſe him: but with reſpect to the military art, and ability in drawing up an army in battle, they thought none comparable to Pyrrhus.

It cannot, therefore, be thought ſurpriſing, that the Macedonians, who entertained ſuch prejudices in his favour, and ſo diſadvantageous to the other, ſhould eaſily quit the party of Demetrius, to eſpouſe that of Pyrrhus: and one may ſee by this inſtance, and a thouſand others, how neceſſary it is for princes to attach their people to their intereſt by the gentle ties of affection and gratitude; and by entertaining a real love for them, which is the only means of acquiring their love, that is the moſt ſolid glory, their moſt eſſential obligation, and at the ſame time their greateſt ſecurity.

† As Lyſimachus happened to arrive immediately after Pyrrhus had been declared king of Macedonia, he pretended that he had contributed as much as that prince to the flight of Demetrius, and that he conſequently ought to have a ſhare in that kingdom. Pyrrhus, who, in this conjuncture, was not entirely certain of the fidelity of the Macedonians, readily acquieſced in the pretenſions of Lyſimachus, and the cities and provinces were accordingly ſhared between them: but this agreement was ſo far from uniting them with each other, that it rather led them into a conſtant train of animoſities and diviſions: for, as Plutarch obſerves, when neither ſeas nor mountains, nor uninhabitable deſerts, could ſuffice as barriers to the avarice and ambition of theſe princes; and when their deſires were not to be bounded by thoſe limits which ſeparate Europe from Aſia, how

* A ſet of flatterers had really perſuaded Pyrrhus, that he reſembled Alexander in the features of his face. With this belief, he ſent for the pictures of Philip, Perdiccas, Alexander, Caſſander, and ſome other princes, and then deſired a woman of Lariſſa, with whom he then lodged, to tell him, which of thoſe princes he moſt reſembled. She refuſed to anſwer him for a conſiderable time, till at laſt he preſſed her very earneſtly to ſatisfy his curioſity: upon which ſhe replied, that ſhe thought him very like Batrachion, who was a noted cook in that city. Lucian. adverſ. indoct. p. 552, 553.

† Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 389, 390.

could

could they poſſibly continue in a ſtate of tranquillity, and refrain from the injuſtice of invading dominions ſo near, and which might prove ſo commodious to them? This was a moderation not to be expected; and a perpetual war between them became inevitable from the malignant ſeeds of envy and uſurpation that had taken root in their minds. The names of peace and war were conſidered by them as two ſpecies of coin; to which they themſelves had given currency, merely for their own intereſt, and without the leaſt regard to juſtice. Again, continues the ſame author, do they not act more laudably, when they engage in an open war, than when they uſe the ſacred names of juſtice, friendſhip, and peace, for what, in reality, is no more than a truce, or a tranſient ſuſpenſion of their unjuſt views?

The whole hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors juſtifies theſe reflections of Plutarch. Never were more treaties and alliances made, and never were they violated with leſs diſguiſe, and more impunity. May heaven grant that thoſe complaints be never applicable to any princes or times but thoſe we are treating of at preſent!

Pyrrhus, finding the Macedonians more tractable and ſubmiſſive, when he led them to war, than they were when he permitted them to enjoy a ſtate of repoſe; and being himſelf not much addicted to tranquillity, nor capable of ſatisfaction in the calm of a long peace, was daily forming new enterpriſes, without much regard to ſparing either his ſubjects or allies. Lyſimachus took advantage of the army's diſguſt of Pyrrhus, and enflamed them ſtill more by his emiſſaries, who artfully inſinuated that they had acted moſt ſhamefully in chuſing a ſtranger for their maſter, whom intereſt, and not affection, had attached to Macedonia. Theſe reproaches drew in the greateſt part of the ſoldiers; upon which Pyrrhus, who feared the conſequences of this alienation, retired with his Epirots, and the troops of his allies, and loſt Macedonia in the ſame manner he had gained it.

He greatly complained of the inconſtancy of this people and their diſaffection to his perſon; but, as Plutarch again obſerves, kings have no reaſon to blame other perſons, for ſometimes changing their party according to their intereſt, as in acting ſo, they only imitate their own example, and practiſe the leſſons of infidelity and treaſon, which they have learned from their whole conduct, which upon all occaſions demonſtrates an utter diſregard for juſtice, veracity, and faith, in the obſervance of engagements.

With reſpect to the affairs of Demetrius, that prince, when he found himſelf deſerted by his troops, retired to the city of Caſſandria,

Caſſandria*, where his conſort Phila reſided. This lady was ſo afflicted at the calamitous ſtate in which ſhe beheld her huſband, and was ſo terrified at the misfortunes to which ſhe herſelf was expoſed by the declenſion of his affairs, that ſhe had recourſe to a draught of poiſon, by which ſhe ended a life that was become more inſupportable to her than death itſelf.

Demetrius, thinking to gather up ſome remains of his ſhattered fortune, returned to Greece, where ſeveral cities ſtill continued devoted to him; and when he had diſpoſed his affairs in the beſt order he was able, he left the government of thoſe places to his ſon Antigonus: and aſſembling all the troops he could raiſe in that country, which amounted to about 11,000 men, he embarked for Aſia, with a reſolution to try whether deſpair would not bring forth good fortune. Eurydice, the ſiſter of his late wife Phila, received him at Miletus, where ſhe lived with the princeſs Ptolemaida, her daughter by Ptolemy, whoſe marriage with Demetrius had been agreed upon by the mediation of Seleucus. Eurydice accordingly preſented the princeſs to him, and this alliance gave birth to Demetrius, who afterwards reigned in Cyrene.

† Demetrius, ſoon after the celebration of his nuptials, entered Caria and Lydia, where he took ſeveral places from Lyſimachus, and conſiderably augmented his forces; by which means he at laſt made himſelf maſter of Sardis: but as ſoon as Agathocles, the ſon of Lyſimachus, appeared at the head of an army, he abandoned all his conqueſts, and marched into the Eaſt. His deſign in taking this route, was to ſurpriſe Armenia and Media; but Agathocles, who followed him cloſe, cut off his proviſions and forage ſo effectually, that a ſickneſs ſpread through his army, and weakened it extremely; and when he at laſt made an attempt to march over mount Taurus, with the ſmall remains of his troops, he found all the paſſes guarded by the enemy, which obliged him to march for Tarſus in Cilicia.

From thence he repreſented to Seleucus, to whom that city belonged, the melancholy ſituation of his affairs, and entreated him, in a very moving manner, to afford him the neceſſary ſubſiſtence for himſelf and the remainder of his troops. Seleucus was touched with compaſſion at firſt, and diſpatched orders to his lieutenants, to furniſh him with all he ſhould want. But when remonſtrances were afterwards made to him upon the valour

* A city on the frontiers of Thrace, and in Upper Macedonia.

† Plut. in Demetr. p. 912—915.

and

and abilities of Demetrius, his genius for reſource and ſtratagem, and intrepidity in the execution of his deſigns, whenever the leaſt opportunity for acting preſented itſelf, he thought it impoſſible to reinſtate a prince of that character, without incurring many diſadvantages himſelf: for which reaſon, inſtead of continuing to ſupport him, he reſolved upon his deſtruction, and immediately placed himſelf at the head of a numerous army, with an attention to attack him. Demetrius, who had received intelligence of theſe meaſures, poſted his troops in thoſe parts of mount Taurus, where he imagined it would be very difficult to force them, and ſent to Seleucus a ſecond time, to implore his permiſſion to paſs into the Eaſt, in order to eſtabliſh himſelf in ſome country belonging to the Barbarians, where he might end his days in tranquillity: but if he ſhould not be inclinable to grant him that favour, he entreated his conſent to take up his winter-quarters in his dominions, and begged that prince not to expoſe him to famine and the rigours of the ſeaſon, as that would be delivering him defenceleſs to the diſcretion of his enemies.

Seleucus was ſo prejudiced againſt the deſign he had formed againſt the Eaſt, that this propoſal only tended to increaſe his diffidence; and he conſented to nothing more than his taking winter-quarters in Catonia, a province adjacent to Cappodocia, during the two ſevereſt months of that ſeaſon; after which he was immediately to evacuate that country. Seleucus, during this negociation, had placed ſtrong guards at all the paſſes from Cilicia into Syria, which obliged Demetrius to have recourſe to arms, in order to diſengage himſelf. He accordingly made ſuch a vigorous attack on the troops who guarded the paſſes in the mountains, that he diſlodged them from thence, and opened himſelf a paſſage into Syria, which he immediately entered.

His own courage, and the hopes of his ſoldiers, reviving from this ſucceſs, he took all poſſible meaſures for making a laſt effort for the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs; but he had the misfortune to be ſuddenly ſeized with a ſevere diſtemper, which diſconcerted all his meaſures. During the forty days that he continued ſick, moſt of his ſoldiers deſerted; and when he at laſt recovered his health, ſo as to be capable of action, he found himſelf reduced to the deſperate neceſſity of attempting to ſurpriſe Seleucus in his camp by night, with the handful of men who ſtill continued in his ſervice. A deſerter gave Seleucus intelligence of this deſign, time enough to prevent its effect; and the deſertion of Demetrius's troops increaſed upon this diſappointment. He then endeavoured, as his laſt reſource, to regain

gain the mountains, and join his fleet; but he found the paſſes ſo well guarded, that he was obliged to conceal himſelf in the woods; from whence he was ſoon diſlodged by hunger, and compelled to ſurrender himſelf to Seleucus, who cauſed him to be conducted under a ſtrong guard to the Cherſoneſus of Syria near Laodicea, where he was detained priſoner. He, however, was allowed the liberty of a park for hunting, and all the conveniencies of life in abundance.

When Antigonus received intelligence of his father's captivity, he was affected with the utmoſt ſorrow; and wrote to all the kings, and even to Seleucus himſelf, to obtain his releaſe, offering, at the ſame time, his own perſon as an hoſtage for him, and conſenting to part with all his remaining dominions, as the price of his liberty. Several cities, and a great number of princes, joined their ſolicitations in favour of the captive prince; but Lyſimachus offered a large ſum of money to Seleucus, provided he would cauſe his priſoner to be put to death. The king of Syria was ſtruck with horror at ſo barbarous and inhuman a propoſal; and, in order to grant a favour ſolicited from ſo many different quarters, he ſeemed only to wait the arrival of his ſon Antigonus and Stratonice, that Demetrius might owe the obligation of his liberty to them.

In the mean time, that unhappy prince ſupported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity, and became at laſt ſo habituated to them, that they no longer ſeemed to affect him. He exerciſed himſelf in racing, walking, and hunting; and might have been infinitely more happy, had he made a true eſtimate of his condition, than whilſt hurried over lands and ſeas by the phrenzy of ambition: for what other fruit do theſe pretended heroes, who are called conquerors, derive from all their labours and wars, and from all the dangers to which they expoſe themſelves, but the fatality of tormenting themſelves, by rendering others miſerable, and conſtantly turning their backs on tranquillity and happineſs, which, if they may be believed, are the ſole ends of all their motions? Demetrius was gradually ſeized with melancholy, and no longer amuſed himſelf with his former exerciſes: he grew corpulent, and entirely abandoned himſelf to drinking and gaming at dice, to which he devoted whole days, undoubtedly with deſign to baniſh the melancholy thoughts of his condition. When he had continued in his captivity for the ſpace of three years, he was ſeized with a ſevere diſtemper, occaſioned by his inactivity, and intemperance in eating and drinking, and died at the age of fifty-four years. His ſon Antigonus, to whom the urn which incloſed the aſhes of that prince was tranſmitted,

tranſmitted, celebrated his funeral with great magnificence. We ſhall ſee, in the ſequel of the preſent hiſtory, that this Antigonus, who was ſurnamed Gonatus, continued peaceable poſſeſſor of the kingdom of Macedonia; and the race of this prince enjoyed the crown for ſeveral generations, in a direct line from father to ſon, till the reign of Perſeus, the laſt of that family, who was diveſted of Macedonia by the Romans.

SECTION III.

PTOLEMY SOTER RESIGNS HIS KINGDOM TO HIS SON PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS—LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA FOUNDED.

PTOLEMY Soter*, the ſon of Lagus, after a reign of 20 years in Egypt, with the ſtyle of king, and of near 39 from the death of Alexander, was deſirous of tranſmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus †, one of his ſons by Berenice. He had likewiſe ſeveral children by his other wives, and among theſe Ptolemy, ſurnamed Ceraunus, or the Thunderer; who being the ſon of Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the eldeſt of the male iſſue, conſidered the crown as his right, after the death of his father.

But Berenice, who came into Egypt, merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her eſpouſals with Ptolemy, ſo exceedingly charmed that prince with her beauty, that he married her; and ſo great was her aſcendant over him, that ſhe cauſed him to prefer her ſon to all his iſſue by the other queens. In order, therefore, to prevent all diſputes and wars that might enſue after his death, which he was ſenſible could not be very remote, as he was then 80 years of age, he reſolved to have him crowned in his own life-time, intending, at the ſame time, to reſign all his dominions to him; declaring, that to create a king was more glorious than to be ſo one's ſelf. The coronation of Philadelphus was celebrated with the moſt ſplendid feſtival that had ever been ſeen; but I reſerve the deſcription of it to the end of this action.

Ptolemy Ceraunus quitted the court, and retired to Lyſimachus, whoſe ſon Agathocles had eſpouſed Lyſandra, the ſiſter of Ceraunus, both by father and mother; and after the death

* A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285. Juſtin. l. xvi.

† The word ſignifies a lover of his brethren; but Ptolemy received this ſurname, agreeably to a figure of ſpeech called Antiphraſis, becauſe he charged two of his brothers with forming deſigns againſt his life, and then cauſed them to be deſtroyed. Pauſan. l. i. p. 12.

of Agathocles, he removed to the court of Seleucus, who received him with a goodneſs entirely uncommon, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackeſt ingratitude, as will appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

*In the firſt year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was alſo the firſt year of the 124th Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the iſle of Pharos was completed. It was uſually called the Tower of Pharos, and has been reputed one of the ſeven wonders of antiquity. It was a large ſquare ſtructure, built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was conſtantly kept burning, in order to guide ſhips in their courſe. It coſt 800 talents, which, eſtimated by the Athenian money, are equal to L.200,000, but amount to almoſt double that ſum, if computed by the coin of Alexandria. The architect of the edifice was Soſtratus of Cnidus, who, to perpetuate the whole honour of it to himſelf, had recourſe to the artifice I have mentioned before †. Pharos was originally a real iſland, at the diſtance of ſeven furlongs from the continent, but was afterwards joined to it by a cauſeway like that of Tyre.

‡ Much about this time, the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria. Ptolemy had been induced by a dream to demand it, by an embaſſy, of the king of Sinope, a city of Pontus, where it was kept. It was, however, refuſed him for the ſpace of two years, till at laſt the inhabitants of Sinope ſuffered ſuch extremities from a famine, that they conſented to reſign this idol to Ptolemy for a ſupply of corn, which he tranſmitted to them; and the ſtatue was then conveyed to Alexandria, and placed in one of the ſuburbs, called Rhacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis, and a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected for it in that place. This ſtructure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus §, ſurpaſſed, in beauty and magnificence, all the temples in the world, except the Capitol at Rome. This temple had alſo a library, which became famous in all ſucceeding ages, for the number and value of the books it contained.

‖ Ptolemy Soter had been careful to improve himſelf in polite literature, as was evident by his compiling the life of Alex-

* Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 12. Strab. l. xvii. p. 791. Suid. in Φάρος.

† Vol. I. In the hiſtory of Egypt.

‡ A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 248. Tacit. hiſt. l. iv. c. 83, et 84. Plut. de Iſid. et Oſir. p. 361. Clem. Alex. in Protrept. p. 31.

§ Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16.

‖ Arrian. in pref. Plut. in Alex. p. 691. Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 8. Strab. l. xvii. p. 792. Plut. in Moral. p. 1095.

ander,

ander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but is now entirely lost. In order to cultivate the sciences, which he much admired, he founded an academy at Alexandria, called the Musæum, where a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophic studies, and the improvement of all other sciences, almost in the same manner as those of London and Paris. To this effect, he began by giving them a library, which was prodigiously increased by his successors. *His son Philadephus left 100,000 volumes in it at the time of his death, and the succeeding princes of that race enlarged it still more, till at last it consisted of 700,000 volumes.

† This library was formed by the following method. All the Greek and other books that were brought into Egypt were seized, and sent to the Musæum, where they were transcribed by persons employed for that purpose. The copies were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals were deposited in the library. Ptolemy Evergetes, for instance, borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, of the Athenians, and only returned them the copies, which he caused to be transcribed in as beautiful a manner as possible; and he likewise presented them with 15 talents, equal to 15,000 crowns, for the originals which he kept.

As the Musæum was at first in that quarter of the city which was called Bruchion, and near the royal palace, the library was founded in the same place, and it soon drew vast numbers thither; but when it was so much augmented, as to contain 400,000 volumes, they began to deposit the additional books in the Serapion. This last library was a supplement to the former, for which reason it received the appellation of its Daughter, and in process of time had in it 300,000 volumes.

‡ In Cæsar's war with the inhabitants of Alexandria, a fire, occasioned by those hostilities, consumed the library of Bruchion, with its 400,000 volumes. Seneca seems to me to have been much displeased §, when speaking of the conflagration, he bestows his censures, both on the library itself, and the eulogium

* Euseb. in Chron. † Galen.

‡ Plut. in Cæsar. p. 732. in Anton. p. 943. Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16. Dion. Cass. l. xlii. p. 202.

§ Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriæ arferunt, pulcherrimum regiæ opulentiæ monumentum. Alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantiæ regum curæque egregium id opus ait fuisse. Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria: imo ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverant—Paretur itaque librorum quantum sit nihil in apparatum. Senec. de tranquill. anim. c. ix.

made on it by Livy, who ſtyles it an illuſtrious monument of the opulence of the Egyptian kings, and of their wiſe attention for the improvement of the ſciences. Seneca, inſtead of allowing it to be ſuch, would only have it conſidered as a work reſulting from the pride and vanity of thoſe monarchs, who had amaſſed ſuch a number of books, not for their own uſe, but merely for pomp and oſtentation. This reflection, however, ſeems to diſcover very little ſagacity; for is it not evident beyond contradiction, that none but kings are capable of founding theſe magnificent libraries, which become a neceſſary treaſure to the learned, and do infinite honour to thoſe ſtates in which they are eſtabliſhed?

The library of Serapion did not ſuſtain any damage, and it was undoubtedly there that Cleopatra depoſited thoſe 200,000 volumes of that of Pergamus, which were preſented to her by Antony. This addition, with other enlargements that were made from time to time, rendered the new library of Alexandria more numerous and conſiderable than the firſt; and though it was ranſacked more than once during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the Roman empire, it always retrieved its loſſes, and recovered its number of volumes. In this condition it ſubſiſted for many ages, affording its treaſures to the learned and curious, till the ſeventh century, when it ſuffered the ſame fate with its parent, and was burned by the Saracens, when they took that city in the year of our Lord 642. The manner by which this misfortune happened is too ſingular to be paſſed over in ſilence.

* John, ſurnamed the Grammarian, and a famous follower of Ariſtotle, happened to be at Alexandria, when it was taken: and as he was much eſteemed by Amri-Ebnol-As, the general of the Saracen troops, he entreated that commander to beſtow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant ſuch a requeſt: but that he would write to the Khalif, or emperor of the Saracens, for his orders on that head, without which he could not preſume to diſpoſe of the library. He accordingly wrote to Omar, the then Khalif, whoſe anſwer was, That if thoſe books contained the ſame doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any uſe, becauſe the Koran was ſufficient in itſelf, and comprehended all neceſſary truths; but if they contained any particulars contrary to that book, they ought to be deſtroyed.

In conſequence of this anſwer, they were all condemned to the flames, without any further examination; and, to that effect,

* Abul-Pharagius, in hiſt. Dynaſt. IX.

were

were distributed in the public bagnios, where, for the space of six months, they were used for fuel instead of wood. We may from hence form a just idea of the prodigious number of books contained in that library; and thus was this inestimable treasure of learning destroyed.

The Musæum of Bruchion was not burned with its library. Strabo * acquaints us, in his description of it, that it was a very large structure near the palace, and fronting the port; and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were governed by a president, whose station was so honourable and important, that, in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the king himself, and afterwards by the Roman emperor; and that they had a hall where the whole society ate together at the expence of the public, by whom they were supported in a very plentiful manner.

Alexandria was undoubtedly indebted to this Musæum, for the advantage she long enjoyed of being the greatest school in all that part of the world, and of having trained up a vast number of excellent men in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the church has received some of its most illustrious doctors; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and many others; for all these studied in that seminary.

Demetrius Phalereus was probably the first president of this seat of learning; but it is certain that he had the superintendency of the library. Plutarch informs us, that his first proposal to Ptolemy was the establishment of a library of such authors as treated of civil polity and government, assuring him, that they would always supply him with such counsels as none of his friends would presume to offer him. This was almost the only expedient for introducing truth to princes, and showing them, under borrowed names, their duties, as well as their defects. When the king had relished this excellent advice, and measures were taken to procure all such books as were requisite in this first view, it may easily be imagined that Demetrius carried the affair to a much greater length, and prevailed upon the king to collect all sorts of other books for the library we have mentioned. Who could better assist that prince in the accomplishment of so noble and magnificent a plan, than Demetrius Phalereus, who was himself a learned man of the first rank, as well as a very able polititian?

We have formerly seen what inducements brought Deme-

* Strab. l. xvii. p. 793.

trius to the court of this prince. *He was received with open arms by Ptolemy Soter, who heaped a profusion of honours upon him, and made him his confident. He consulted him, preferably to all his other counsellors, in the most important affairs, and particularly those which related to the succession to the crown. †This prince, two years before his death, had formed a resolution to abdicate his crown in favour of one of his children. Demetrius endeavoured to dissuade him from that design, by representing to him, that he must no longer expect to enjoy any authority, if he divested himself of his dignity in such a manner, and that it would be dangerous to create him a master. But when he found him absolutely determined on this abdication, he advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, and which was generally followed by all nations: in consequence of which it would be incumbent on him to prefer his eldest son by Eurydice his first wife. But the credit of Berenice prevailed over this equitable and prudent advice, which in a short time proved fatal to its author.

‡ Toward the close of this year died Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, in the 84th year of his age, and two years after his resignation of the empire to his son. He was the most able and worthy man of all his race, and left behind him such examples of prudence, justice, and clemency, as very few of his successors were industrious to imitate. During the space of near 40 years, in which he governed Egypt, after the death of Alexander, he raised it to such an height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to the other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne the same fondness of simplicity of manners, and the same aversion for ostentatious pomp, as he discovered when he first ascended it. He was accessible to his subjects, even to a degree of familiarity. He frequently ate with them at their own houses; and, when he gave any entertainment himself, he thought it no disgrace to borrow their richest plate, because he had but very little of his own, and no more than was necessary for his common use §: and when some persons represented to him, that the regal dignity seemed to require an air of greater opulence, his answer was, "That the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not himself."

* Plut. in Demetr. p. 892. Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Phal.
† A. M. 3719. Ant. J. C. 285. ‡ A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283.
§ Plut. in Apoph. p. 881.

SECT.

SECTION IV.

MAGNIFICENT SOLEMNITY AT THE INAUGURATON OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS KING OF EGYPT.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus, after his father had abdicated the crown in his favour, entertained the people, when he aſcended the throne, with the moſt ſplendid feſtival mentioned by antiquity. Athenæus had left us a long deſcription of it, tranſcribed from Callixenus the Rhodian, who compiled a hiſtory of Alexandria, and Montfaucon relates it in his antiquities. I ſhall inſert the particulars of it in this place, becauſe they will give us a very proper idea of the riches and opulence of Egypt. I may add too, that as ancient authors ſpeak very often of ſacred pomp, proceſſions, and ſolemn feſtivals, in honour of their gods, I thought it incumbent on me to give ſome idea of them for once, by deſcribing one of the moſt celebrated ſolemnities that was ever known. Plutarch, who is perpetually mentioning triumphs among the Romans, has the approbation of his readers for his particular deſcription of that of Paulus Æmilius, which was one of the moſt magnificent. But if the account I ſhall now give ſhould appear unſeaſonable, or too prolix, it may be paſſed over, without interrupting the ſeries of this hiſtory; for I declare before hand, that the relation will be ſomething tedious.

* This pompous ſolemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the Circus of Alexandria. It was divided into ſeveral parts, and formed a variety of ſeparate proceſſions. Beſide thoſe of the king's father and mother, the gods had, each of them, a diſtinct cavalcade, adorned with the ornaments relating to their hiſtory.

Athenæus has only related the particulars of that of Bacchus, by which a judgment may be formed of the magnificence of the reſt.

The proceſſion began with a troop of Sileni, ſome habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red; their employment was to to keep off the crowd, and make way.

Next the Sileni came a band of ſatires, compoſed of 20 in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

Theſe were ſucceeded by the Victories, with golden wings, carrying vaſes nine feet high, ſteaming with kindled perfumes, partly gilt, and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy. Their habits were embroidered with the figures of animals, and every part of them glittered with gold.

* Athen. l. v. 197—203.

After

After theſe came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was alſo beautified with a golden crown, compoſed of vine leaves, and adorned on all ſides with certain white fillets.

An hundred and twenty youths advanced next, clothed in purple veſts; each of them ſupporting a golden vaſe of incenſe, myrrh, and ſaffron.

They were followed by 40 ſatires, wearing crowns of gold, which repreſented the leaves of ivy; and in the right hand of each was another crown of the ſame metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diverſified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of theſe marched two Sileni, arrayed in purple mantles, and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caduceus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between theſe two was a man, ſix feet in height, maſked and habited like a tragedian. He alſo carried a golden cornucopia, and was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of The Year.

This perſon preceded a very amiable woman as tall as himſelf, dreſſed in a magnificent manner, and glittering all over with gold. She held, in one hand, a crown compoſed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of palm. She was called Penteteris *.

The next in the proceſſion were the Genii of the four ſeaſons, wearing ornaments by which they were diſtinguiſhed, and ſupporting two golden vaſes of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midſt of them was a ſquare altar of gold.

A band of ſatires then appeared wearing golden crowns, faſhioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore veſſels filled with wine, others carried drinking-cups.

Immediately after theſe was ſeen Philiſcus, the poet and prieſt of Bacchus, attended by comedians, muſicians, dancers, and other perſons of that claſs.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the athletic combats and exerciſes. One of theſe tripods, being 13½ feet in height, was intended for the youths; the other, which was 18 feet high, was deſigned for the men.

An extraordinary large chariot followed theſe. It had four wheels†, was 21 feet in length, and 12 in breadth, and was

* This word ſignifies the ſpace of five years, becauſe, at the expiration of every fourth year, the feaſt of Bacchus was celebrated at the beginning of the next, which was the fifth.

† All chariots in general, of which mention will be made in the ſequel of this relation, had alſo four wheels.

drawn

drawn by 180 men. In this chariot was a figure repreſenting Bacchus, 15 feet in height, and in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a tranſparent veſt of ſaffron-colour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a great veſſel of gold, formed in the Laconic manner, and containing 15 meaſures, called Metretes*. This was accompanied with a golden tripod, on which was placed a golden vaſe of odours, with two cups of the ſame metal full of cinnamon and ſaffron. Bacchus was ſeated in a ſhade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit trees; and from theſe hung ſeveral crowns, fillets, and thyrſi, with timbrels, ribbands, and a variety of ſatiric, comic, and tragic maſks. In the ſame chariot were the prieſts and prieſteſſes of that deity, with the other miniſters, and interpreters of myſteries, dancers of all claſſes, and women bearing vans†.

Theſe were followed by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair diſhevelled, and wore crowns compoſed, ſome of ſerpents, others of branches of yew, the vine, or the ivy. Some of theſe women carried knives in their hands, others graſped ſerpents.

After theſe advanced another chariot, 12 feet in breadth, and drawn by 60 men. In this was the ſtatue of Nyſſa, or Nyſa, ſitting‡, 12 feet high, and clothed with a yellow veſt embroidered with gold, over which was another Laconic habit. The ſtatue roſe by the aid of ſome machines that were not touched by any perſon, and after it had poured milk out of a golden cup, it reſumed its former ſeat. Its left hand held a thyrſus adorned with ribbands, and wore a golden crown, on the top of which were repreſented various leaves of ivy, with cluſters of grapes, compoſed of gems. It was covered with a deep ſhade, formed by a blended foliage, and a gilded lamp hung at each corner of the chariot.

After this came another chariot, 36 feet in length, and 24 in breadth, and drawn by 300 men. On this was placed a wine-preſs, alſo 36 feet long, and 22½ broad; this was full of the produce of the vintage. Sixty ſatires trod the grapes, to the ſound of the flute, and ſung ſuch airs as correſponded with the

* This word is frequently uſed in the preſent deſcription; it is the name of a Greek meaſure, which correſponds moſt with the Roman Amphora, but was ſomewhat larger. It contained nine gallons.

† Myſtica Vannus Iacchi. Virg.

‡ She is thought to have been the nurſe of Bacchus.

action

action in which they were employed. Silenus was the chief of the band, and ſtreams of wine flowed from the chariot throughout the whole progreſs.

Another chariot, of the ſame magnitude, was drawn by 600 men. This carried a fat of a prodigious ſize, made of leopards ſkins ſewed together. The veſſel contained 3000 meaſures, and ſhed a conſtant effuſion of wine during the proceſſion.

This chariot was followed by 120 crowned ſatires and Sileni, carrying pots, flaggons, and large cups, all of gold.

This troop was immediately ſucceeded by a ſilver fat, containing 600 metretes, and placed on a chariot drawn by the ſame number of men. The veſſel was adorned with chaſed work, and the rim, together with the two handles and the baſe, were embelliſhed with the figures of animals. The middle part of it was encompaſſed with a golden crown adorned with jewels.

Next appeared two ſilver bowls, 18 feet in diameter, and 9 in height. The upper part of their circumference was adorned with ſtuds, and the bottom with ſeveral animals, three of which were a foot and an half high, and many more of a leſſer ſize.

Theſe were followed by 10 great fats, and 16 other veſſels, the largeſt of which contained 30 metretes, and the leaſt five. There were likewiſe 10 cauldrons, 24 vaſes with two handles, and diſpoſed on five ſalvers; two ſilver wine-preſſes, on which were placed 24 goblets; a table of maſſy ſilver, 18 feet in length, and 30 more of ſix; four tripods, one of which was of maſſy ſilver, and had a circumference of 24 feet; the other three, that were ſmaller, were adorned with precious ſtones in the middle.

Then came 20 Delphic tripods, all of ſilver, and ſomething leſs than the preceding. They were likewiſe accompanied with 26 beakers, 16 flaggons, and 160 other veſſels, the largeſt of which contained ſix metretes, and the ſmalleſt two. All theſe veſſels were of ſilver.

After theſe came the golden veſſels, four of which, called Laconics, were crowned with vine leaves. There were likewiſe two Corinthian vaſes, whoſe rims and middle circumference were embelliſhed with the figures of animals; theſe contained eight metretes: a wine-preſs, on which 10 goblets were placed: two other vaſes, each of which contained five metretes; and two more that held a couple of meaſures: 22 veſſels for preſerving liquors cool, the largeſt of which contained 30 metretes, and the leaſt one: four golden tripods of an extraordinary ſize: a kind of a golden baſket, intended as a repoſitory for veſſels of the ſame metal: this was enriched with jewels, and was five feet in length; it was likewiſe divided into ſix partitions, one above another,

ther, and adorned with various figures of animals, about three feet in height; two goblets, and two glaſs bowls with golden ornaments: two ſalvers of gold, four cubits in diameter, and three others of leſs dimenſions: ten beakers: an altar, four feet and an half high; and 25 diſhes.

After this rich equipage marched 1600 youths, habited in white veſts, and crowned, ſome of them with ivy, others with branches of the pine; 250 of this band carried golden vaſes, and 400 of them vaſes of ſilver; 300 more carried ſilver veſſels, made to keep liquors cool.

After theſe appeared another troop bearing large drinking veſſels, ſome of which were of gold, 50 of ſilver, and 300 diverſified with various colours.

There were likewiſe ſeveral tables, ſix feet in length, and ſupporting a variety of remarkable objects. On one was repreſented the bed of Semele, on which were diſpoſed ſeveral veſts, ſome of golden brocade, others adorned with precious ſtones.

We muſt not omit a chariot 33 feet in length, and 21 in breadth, drawn by 500 men. In this was the repreſentation of a deep cavern, ſhrouded with ivy and vine leaves: ſeveral pigeons, ring-doves, and turtles, iſſued out of the apperture, and flew about. Little bands were faſtened to their feet, that they might be caught by the people around them. Two fountains likewiſe, one of milk and the other of wine, flowed out of the cavern. All the nymphs who ſtood round it wore crowns of gold. Mercury was alſo ſeen, with a golden caduceus in his hand, and clothed in a ſplendid manner.

The expedition of Bacchus into the Indies was exhibited in another chariot, where the god was repreſented by a ſtatue, eight feet in height, and mounted upon an elephant. He was arrayed in purple, and wore a golden crown, intermixed with twining ivy and vine-leaves. A long thyrſus of gold was in his hand, and his ſandals were of the ſame metal. On the neck of the elephant was ſeated a ſatire above ſeven feet high, with a crown of gold on his head, formed in imitation of pine-branches, and blowing a kind of trumpet made of goat's horn. The trappings of the elephant were of gold, and his neck was adorned with a crown of that metal ſhaped like the foliage of ivy.

This chariot was followed by 500 young virgins, adorned with purple veſts and golden zones; 120 of them, who commanded the reſt, wore crowns of gold that ſeemed to be compoſed of the branches of pine.

Next to theſe came 120 ſatires, armed at all points, ſome in ſilver, and others in copper arms.

To

To theſe ſucceeded five troops of Sileni, and crowned ſatires, mounted on aſſes, ſome of whom were entirely harneſſed with gold, the reſt with ſilver.

After this troop appeared a long train of chariots, 24 of which were drawn by elephants; 60 by he-goats; 12 by lions; 6 by Oryges, a ſpecies of goats; 15 by buffaloes; 4 by wild aſſes; 8 by oſtriches; and 7 by ſtags. In theſe chariots were little youths habited like charioteers, and wearing hats with broad brims. They were accompanied by others of a leſs ſtature, clothed in mantles embroidered with gold. The boys who performed the office of charioteers were crowned with branches of pine; and the leſſer youths with ivy.

On each ſide of theſe were three chariots drawn by camels, and followed by others drawn by mules. In theſe chariots were ſeveral tents, reſembling thoſe of the Barbarians, with Indian women, and thoſe of other nations, habited like ſlaves. Some of theſe camels carried 300 pounds weight of incenſe; others 200 of ſaffron, cinnamon, iris, and other odoriferous ſpices.

At a little diſtance from theſe, marched a band of Ethiopians, armed with pikes. One body of theſe carried 600 elephants teeth; another, 2000 branches of ebony; a third, cups of gold and ſilver, with a large quantity of gold duſt.

After theſe came two hunters carrying gilded darts, and marching at the head of 2400 dogs, of the Indian, Hyrcanian, and Moloſſian breed, beſide a variety of other ſpecies.

They were ſucceeded by 150 men ſupporting trees, to which were faſtened ſeveral ſpecies of birds and deer. Cages were alſo carried, in which were parrots, peacocks, turkey hens, pheaſants, and other Ethiopian birds. After theſe appeared 130 ſheep of that country; 300 of the Arabian breed; 20 of the iſland of Eubœa; 26 white Indian oxen, eight of the Ethiopian ſpecies; alſo a large white bear; 14 leopards; 16 panthers; four lynxes; three ſmall bears; a camelopard *, and an Ethiopian rhinoceros.

Bacchus advanced next, ſeated in a chariot, and wearing a golden crown, embelliſhed with ivy-leaves. He was repreſented as taking ſanctuary at the altar of Rhea, from the perſecution of Juno. Priapus was placed near him, with a crown of gold formed like the leaves of ivy. The ſtatue of Juno was crowned with a golden diadem; and thoſe of Alexander and Ptolemy wore crowns of fine gold, repreſenting ivy-leaves. The

* This animal, whether real or fabulous, is mentioned by Horace. Diverſum confuſa genus panthera camelo.

image

image of Virtue was placed near that of Ptolemy, and on her head was a crown of gold made in imitation of olive branches. Another ſtatue, repreſenting the city of Corinth, was alſo near Ptolemy, with a golden diadem on its head. At a little diſtance from each of theſe, was a great vaſe filled with golden cups, and a large bowl of the ſame metal, which contained five metretes.

This chariot was followed by ſeveral women richly arrayed, and bearing the names of the Ionian, and other Greek cities in Aſia; with the iſlands which had formerly been conquered by the Perſians. All this train wore crowns of gold.

In another chariot was a golden thyrſus, 135 feet in length, and a ſilver lance 80 feet long.

In this part of the proceſſion were a variety of wild beaſts and horſes, and 24 lions of a prodigious ſize; and alſo a great number of chariots, in which were not only the ſtatues of kings, but thoſe of ſeveral deities.

After theſe came a chorus of 600 men, among whom were 300 who played on gilded harps, and wore golden crowns. At a ſmall diſtance from this band, marched 2000 bulls, all of the ſame colour, and adorned with golden frontlets, in the middle of which roſe a crown of the ſame metal. They were alſo adorned with a collar, and an Ægis * hung on the breaſt of each. All theſe habiliments were of gold.

The proceſſion of Jupiter, and a great number of other deities, advanced next, and, after all the reſt, that of Alexander, whoſe ſtatue of maſſy gold was placed in a chariot drawn by elephants; on one ſide of this ſtatue ſtood Victory, and on the other Minerva.

The proceſſion was graced with ſeveral thrones of gold and ivory, on one of which was a large diadem of gold, and on another a horn of the ſame metal. A third ſupported a crown, and a fourth a horn of ſolid gold. On the throne of Ptolemy Soter, the father of the reigning prince, was a golden crown, which weighed 10,000 pieces of gold †, each containing four drachms.

In this proceſſion were likewiſe 300 golden vaſes, in which perfumes were to be burned; 50 gilded altars, encompaſſed with golden crowns. Four torches of gold, 15 feet in height, were faſtened to one of theſe altars. There were likewiſe 12 gilded

* A kind of buckler which covered the breaſt.

† The Attic Stater, uſually called χρυσῦς, was equal to ten livres of French money; the value therefore of this ſingle crown amounted to 100,000 French livres, which are about L.4200 Sterling.

hearths, one of which was 18 feet in circumference, and 60 in height; and another was only 12½ feet high. Nine Delphic tripods of gold appeared next, having ſix feet in their altitude; and there were ſix others, nine feet in height. The largeſt of all was 45 feet high; ſeveral animals in gold were placed upon it, and its upper part was encompaſſed with a golden crown, formed of a foliage of vine-leaves.

After theſe were ſeen ſeveral gilded palms, 12 feet in length, together with a caduceus, gilt alſo, 66 feet long; a gilded thunder-bolt, in length 60 feet; a gilded temple, 60 feet in circumference; a double horn, 12 feet long; a vaſt number of gilded animals, ſeveral of which were 18 feet in height. To theſe were added ſeveral deer of a ſtupendous ſize, and a ſet of eagles 30 feet high.

3200 Crowns of gold were likewiſe carried in this proceſſion, together with a conſecrated crown, containing 120 feet (undoubtedly in its circumference); it was likewiſe adorned with a profuſion of gems, and ſurrounded the entrance into the temple of Berenice. Several large crowns of gold were alſo ſupported by young virgins richly habited. One of theſe crowns was three feet in height, with a circumference of 24.

Theſe ornaments of the proceſſion were accompanied with a golden cuiraſs, 18 feet in height; and another of ſilver, 27 feet high. On this latter was the repreſentation of two thunderbolts of gold, 18 feet in length; with an oaken crown embelliſhed with jewels; 20 golden bucklers; 64 complete ſuits of golden armour; two boots of the ſame metal, four feet and an half in length; 12 beſons; a great number of flaggons; 10 large vaſes of perfumes for the baths; 12 beakers; 50 diſhes, and a large number of tables: all theſe were of gold. There were likewiſe five tables covered with golden goblets; and an horn of ſolid gold, 44 feet in length. All theſe golden veſſels and other ornaments were in a ſeparate proceſſion from that of Bacchus, which has been already deſcribed.

There were likewiſe 400 chariots laden with veſſels, and other works of ſilver; twenty others filled with golden veſſels, and 800 more appropriated to the carriage of aromatic ſpecies.

The troops that guarded this proceſſion were compoſed of 57,600 foot, and 23,000 horſe, all dreſſed and armed in a magnificent manner.

During the games and public combats, which continued for ſome days after this pompous ſolemnity, Ptolemy Soter preſented the victors with 20 crowns of gold, and they received 23 from his conſort Berenice. It appeared, by the regiſters of the palace, that

that these last crowns were valued at 2230 talents and 50 minæ, about L.334,400 sterling: from whence some judgment may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this splendid ceremonial amounted.

Such was the magnificence (shall I call it religious, or rather theatrical and of the comic strain?) exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus at his coronation. If Fabricius, the famous Roman, whom I formerly mentioned, and who had rendered himself so remarkable for his contempt of gold and silver, had been a spectator of this procession, I am persuaded that the sight of it in all its parts, would have proved insupportable to him, and am inclined to think he would have thought and spoken like the emperor Vespasian, upon an occasion which had some resemblance to this. He and his son Titus made a triumphant entry into Rome, after the destruction of Jerusalem; but finding himself fatigued with the excessive length of that pompous procession, he could not conceal his displeasure, and declared, that he was justly punished by that tedious ceremony, for his weakness in desiring a triumph at his advanced age.

In this festival of Ptolemy Philadelphus, no part of it was conducted with any elegance, or had the least air of taste and genius. An amazing prodigality of gold and silver was displayed, which makes me recollect a passage in Sallust, the beauty and force of which I have the mortification not to be able to render in our language. Catiline intended to represent the immoderate luxury of the Romans his contemporaries, who lavished immense sums in the purchase of pictures, statues, wrought plate, and superb buildings. "They draw out," says he, "and torment their "gold and silver by all imaginable methods," I must entreat the reader's excuse for this literal translation, "and yet this excess "of prodigality is incapable of exhausting and overcoming their "riches." "Omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant *; tamen summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt." In such profusions as these, did the whole merit of Philadelphus consist on this occasion.

What could there be truly great or admirable in this vain os-

* These metaphorical terms, "trahunt, vexant, vincere nequeunt," may possibly be derived from the combats of the Athletæ, wherein, after one of them has thrown his adversary, and imagines himself victorious, he drags him along the Arena, in sight of the spectators, twists, shakes, and torments him, without being able to extort a confession from him of his defeat. In this contest, therefore, wherein the Roman author represents luxury and riches to be engaged, all the profusions of the former were incapable of exhausting and overcoming her riches.

tentation of riches, and waſte of ſuch immenſe treaſure in a bottomleſs abyſs, after they had coſt the people ſo many fatiguing labours, and perhaps had been amaſſed by a long ſeries of violent exactions? The ſpoils of whole provinces and cities were ſacrificed to the curioſity of a ſingle day, and diſplayed to public view, only to raiſe the frivolous admiration of a ſtupid populace, without conducing to the leaſt real advantage or utility. Nothing ever argued a more profound ignorance of the true uſe of riches and ſolid glory, and of whatever elſe has any juſt pretenſions to the eſteem of mankind."

But what can we ſay, when we behold a ſacred proceſſion, and a ſolemnity of religion converted into a public ſchool of intemperance and licentiouſneſs, ſuch as are only proper to excite the moſt ſhameful paſſions in the ſpectators, and induce an utter depravity of manners; by preſenting to their view all the utenſils of exceſs and debauch, with the moſt powerful allurements to indulge them, and that under pretext of paying adoration to the gods! What divinities muſt thoſe be, that would exact, or ſo much as ſuffer ſo ſcandalous a pomp in their worſhip!

SECTION V.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS—DEATH OF DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus *, after the death of his father, became ſole maſter of all his dominions, which were compoſed of Egypt, and many provinces dependent on it, that is to ſay, Phœnicia, Cœloſyria, Arabia, Libya, Ethiopia, the iſland of Cyprus, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the iſles called the Cyclades.

During the life of Ptolemy Soter, Philadelphus had concealed his reſentment againſt Demetrius Phalereus, for the advice he gave that prince, when he was deliberating on the choice of a ſucceſſor. But when the ſovereign power entirely devolved upon him, he cauſed that philoſopher to be ſeized, and ſent with a ſtrong guard to a remote fortreſs, where he ordered him to be confined, till he ſhould determine in what manner to treat him. † But at laſt the bite of an aſpic put a period to the life of that great man, who merited a better fate.

* A. M. 3721. Ant. J. C. 283. Theocrat. Idyll. xvii.
† Diog. Laert. in Demetr. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir. Poſt. n. 23.

The

The teſtimonies in his favour of Cicero, Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and many others, leave no room to doubt of the probity and wiſdom of his government; we therefore ſhall only conſider what has been obſerved with reſpect to his eloquence.

The characters of his writings, as Cicero obſerves in ſeveral places*, were ſweetneſs, elegance, beauty, numbers, and ornament, ſo that it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh in them the diſciple of Theophraſtus. He excelled in that ſpecies of eloquence, which is called the temperate and florid. His ſtyle, in other reſpects gentle and calm, was adorned and ennobled with bold and ſhining metaphors, that exalted and enlivened his diſcourſe, otherwiſe not dignified to any great degree with rich ſentiments, and thoſe beauties that conſtitute the great and ſublime. He was rather to be conſidered as a wreſtler, formed in the ſhade and tranquillity, for public games and ſpectacles, than as a ſoldier inured to arms by exerciſe, and quitting his tent to attack an enemy. His diſcourſe had, indeed, the faculty of affecting his hearers with ſomething grateful and tender, but it wanted energy to inſpire the force and ardour that inflame the mind, and only left in it at moſt an agreeable remembrance of ſome tranſient ſweetneſs and graces, not unlike that we retain after hearing the moſt harmonious concerts.

It muſt be confeſſed, this ſpecies of eloquence has its merit, when limited to juſt bounds; but as it is very difficult and unuſual to preſerve the due mediocrity in this particular, and to ſuppreſs the ſallies of a rich and lively imagination, not always guided by the judgment; this kind of eloquence is apt, therefore, to degenerate, and become, even from its own beauties, a pernicious delicacy, which at length vitiates and depraves the taſte. This was the effect, according to Cicero and Quintillian, who were good judges in this point, of the florid and ſtudied graces peculiar to the ſtyle of Demetrius. Athens, till his time†, had been accuſtomed to a noble and majeſtic eloquence, whoſe character was a natural beauty, without paint and glitter. Demetrius was the firſt that revolted againſt this manly and ſolid eloquence, to which he ſubſtituted a ſoft and languiſhing ſpecies, that abated the vigour of the mind, and at length rendered falſe taſte predominant.

Two of Alexander's captains ſurvived Ptolemy, Lyſimachus and Seleucus, who, till then, had always been united by intereſt and friendſhip, and were engaged to each other by treaties and

* Offic. l. i. n. 3. De clar. Orat. n. 37—38.
† De clar. n. Orat. 36—38.

confederations: and as they were now advancing to the period of their days, for each of them had exceeded 80 years of age, one would have thought they would have been desirous of ending their lives in the union which had so long subsisted between them; instead of which, their mutual destruction by war became the whole object of their thoughts, on the following occasion.

Lysimachus, after the marriage of his son Agathocles with Lysandra, one of the daughters of Ptolemy, espoused another himself, whose name was Arsinoe, and had several children by her. * The different interests of these two sisters led them into all sorts of intrigues, to form a powerful party in their favour, upon the death of Lysimachus. What are ambitious wives and mothers not capable of attempting! Their opposition to each other was not the mere effect of personal interest, but was chiefly fomented by the differences of their mothers: Lysandra was the daughter of Eurydice, and Arsinoe of Berenice. The arrival of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the brother of Philadelphus, at this court, made Arsinoe apprehensive that his interest would strengthen too much the party of Lysandra, who was his sister by the same mother; and that they would accomplish the destruction of herself, and her own children, at the death of Lysimachus. This calamity she was determined to prevent, by sacrificing Agathocles to her suspicions; and she succeeded in her design, by representing him to her husband, as one who had formed a conspiracy against his life and crown, by which she so much incensed him against his own son, that he caused him to be imprisoned and put to death. Lysandra and her children, with her brother Ceraunus, and Alexander, another son of Lysimachus, took sanctuary in the court of Seleucus, and prevailed upon him to declare war against Lysimachus. Several of the principal officers of this prince, and even those who had been most devoted to his interest, were struck with so much horror at the murder of his son, that they entirely abandoned him, and retired to the court of Seleucus, where they strengthened the remonstrances of Lysandra by their own complaints. Seleucus was easily induced to undertake this war, for which he was already sufficiently disposed, by views of interest.

† Before he engaged in this enterprise, he resigned his queen Stratonice to his son Antiochus, for a reason I shall soon relate; and consigned to him, at the same time, a considerable part of his empire, reserving to himself no other territories but the provinces between the Euphrates and the sea. Antiochus was seized with

* Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. Pausan. in Attic. p. 18.
† Plut. in Demetr. p. 906, 907. Appian. in Syr. p. 126—128.

a linger-

a lingering diſtemper, of which the phyſicians were incapable of diſcovering the cauſe; for which reaſon his condition was thought entirely deſperate. It is eaſy to conceive the inquietude of a father who beheld himſelf on the point of loſing his ſon in the flower of his age, whom he had intended for his ſucceſſor in his vaſt dominions, and in whom all the happineſs of his life conſiſted. Eraſiſtratus, the moſt attentive and ſkilful of all the phyſicians, having carefully conſidered every ſymptom with which the indiſpoſition of the young prince was attended, believed at laſt that he had diſcovered its true cauſe, and that it proceeded from a paſſion he had entertained for ſome lady; in which conjecture he was not deceived. It, however, was more difficult to diſcover the object of a paſſion, the more violent from the ſecrecy in which it remained. The phyſician, therefore, to aſſure himſelf fully of what he ſurmiſed, paſſed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and when he ſaw any lady enter, he carefully obſerved the countenance of the prince, and never diſcovered the leaſt emotion in him, except when Stratonice came into the chamber, either alone, or with her confort; at which times the young prince was, as Plutarch obſerves, always affected with the ſymptoms deſcribed by Sappho, as ſo many indications of a violent paſſion. Such, for inſtance, as a ſuppreſſion of voice; burning bluſhes; ſuffuſion of ſight; cold ſweat; a ſenſible inequality and diſorder of pulſe; with a variety of the like ſymptoms. When the phyſician was afterwards alone with his patient, he managed his inquiries with ſo much dexterity, as at laſt drew the ſecret from him. Antiochus confeſſed his paſſion for queen Stratonice his mother-in-law, and declared that he had in vain employed all his efforts to vanquiſh it: he added, that he had a thouſand times had recourſe to every conſideration that could be repreſented to his thoughts, in ſuch a conjuncture; particularly the reſpect due from him to a father and a ſovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the ſhameful circumſtance of indulging a paſſion altogether unjuſtifiable, and contrary to all the rules of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a deſign he ought never to be deſirous of gratifying, but that his reaſon, in its preſent ſtate of diſtraction, entirely engroſſed by one object, would hearken to nothing. And he concluded with declaring, that to puniſh himſelf, for deſires involuntary in one ſenſe, but criminal in every other, he had reſolved to languiſh to death, by diſcontinuing all care of his health, and abſtaining from every kind of food.

The phyſician gained a very conſiderable point by penetrating into the ſource of his patient's diſorder; but the application of

the

the proper remedy was much more difficult to be accompliſhed; and how could a propoſal of this nature be made to a parent and king! When Seleucus made the next inquiry after his ſon's health, Eraſiſtratus replied, that his diſtemper was incurable, becauſe it aroſe from a ſecret paſſion which could never be gratified, as the lady he loved was not to be obtained. The father, ſurpriſed and afflicted at this anſwer, deſired to know why the lady was not to be obtained? "Becauſe ſhe is my wife," replied the phyſician, "and I am not diſpoſed to yield her up to the embraces "of another." "And will you not part with her then," replied the king, "to preſerve the life of a ſon I ſo tenderly love? Is this "the friendſhip you profeſs for me?" "Let me entreat you, my lord," ſaid Eraſiſtratus, "to imagine yourſelf for one mo- "ment in my place, would you reſign your Stratonice to his arms? "If you, therefore, who are a father, would not conſent to ſuch "a ſacrifice for the welfare of a ſon ſo dear to you, how can "you expect another ſhould do it?" "I would reſign Strato- "nice, and my empire to him, with all my ſoul," interrupted the king. "Your majeſty then," replied the phyſician, "has the "remedy in your own hands; for he loves Stratonice." The father did not heſitate a moment after this declaration, and eaſily obtained the conſent of his conſort, after which his ſon and that princeſs were crowned king and queen of Upper Aſia. * Julian the apoſtate relates, in a fragment of his writings ſtill extant, that Antiochus could not eſpouſe Stratonice, till after the death of his father.

Whatever traces of reſerve, moderation, and even modeſty, appear in the conduct of this young prince, his example ſhows us the misfortune of giving the leaſt entrance into the heart of an unlawful paſſion, capable of diſcompoſing all the happineſs and tranquillity of life.

† Seleucus, being now eaſed of his inquietude, thought of nothing but marching againſt Lyſimachus. He therefore put himſelf at the head of a fine army, and advanced into Aſia Minor. All the country ſubmitted to him, as far as Sardis, which he beſieged and took; by which means he became maſter of all the treaſures of Lyſimachus.

‡ This laſt having paſſed the Helleſpont, in order to check the progreſs of Seleucus, gave him battle in Phrygia §, but was defeated

* In Miſop.

† Juſtin. l. xvii. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 178. Memnon. Excerpta apud Phot. c. 9. Pauſan. in Attic. p. 18. Oroſ. 3—23. Polyæn. 4, 9.

‡ A. M. 3723. Ant. J. C. 281.

§ Porphyry is the only author who has pointed out the real place where this

feated and slain; in consequence of which, Seleucus rendered himself master of all his dominions. His greatest pleasure on this occasion resulted from his being the only survivor of all the captains of Alexander, and, by the event of this battle, victorious over conquerors themselves, for that was the expression he thought fit to use, and this advantage was considered by him as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour. This last victory was undoubtedly the best justification of the title of Nicator, or the conqueror, which he had already assumed, and which is usually given him by the historians, in order to distinguish him from the other princes who reigned after him in Syria of the name of Seleucus.

His triumph, on this occasion, was of no long continuance; for when he went, seven months after his victory, to take possession of Macedonia, where he purposed to pass the remainder of his days in the bosom of his native country, he was basely assassinated by Ceraunus, on whom he had conferred innumerable honours and obligations: for he had received him into his court when he fled from his own country, and had treated him suitably to his rank. He had also carried that prince with him in that expedition; intending, when it should be completed, to employ the same forces for his establishment on the throne of his father in Egypt. But as this wretch was insensible of all the favours he had received, he had the villainy to conspire against his benefactor; whom he assassinated, as we have already mentioned.

He had reigned 20 years, from the battle of Ipsus, when the title of king was secured to him; and 31, if the commencement of his reign be fixed 12 years after the death of Alexander, when he became master of Asia; from which time the era of the Seleucidæ commences.

* A late dissertation of M. de la Nauze gives him a reign of more than 50 years, by adding to it the 19 years of his son Antiochus Soter. The author pretends, that Seleucus Nicator did not entirely divest himself of the government, but began with making a partition of his dominions; and that he afterwards reunited them, even in the life-time of his son. He has produced probable reasons in favour of his opinion; but as I never engage in contests of this nature, I shall confine myself to the chronolo-

this battle was fought, and which Eusebius by an evident mistake calls Κορυπέδιον, instead of Κυροπέδιον, the field of Cyrus; mentioned by Strabo, l. xiii. p. 629.

* Tom. VII. des Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres.

gy

gy of Uſher, who has been my uſual guide, and who aſſigns, with Father Petau and Monſieur Vaillant, 31 years to the reign of Seleucus Nicator.

This prince had extraordinary qualities; and, without mentioning his military accompliſhments, it may be juſtly ſaid, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the other kings, by his great love of juſtice, a benevolence, clemency, and a peculiar regard to religion, that endeared him to the people. He had likewiſe a taſte for polite literature, and made it a circumſtance of pleaſure and glory to himſelf, to ſend back to the Athenians the library of which Xerxes had diſpoſſeſſed them, and which he found in Perſia. He alſo accompanied that preſent with the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, whom the Athenians honoured as their deliverers.

The friends of Lyſimachus, with thoſe who had ſerved under that prince, at firſt conſidered Ceraunus as the avenger of his death, and acknowledged him for their king, but his conduct ſoon cauſed them to change their ſentiments.

* He did not expect to poſſeſs the dominions of Lyſimachus in peace, while his ſiſter Arſinoe and the children ſhe had by Lyſimachus were living; for which reaſon he determined to rid himſelf at once of them and the apprehenſions they gave him. The greateſt crimes coſt the ambitious no remorſe. Ceraunus feigned a paſſion for his ſiſter, and ſeemed deſirous of eſpouſing her; and as theſe inceſtuous marriages were frequent and allowable in Egypt, Arſinoe, who was well acquainted with the natural diſpoſition of her brother, protracted, as much as poſſible, the concluſion of that affair, the conſequences of which ſhe feared would be fatal to herſelf and children. But the more ſhe delayed, and concealed her repugnance by plauſible pretexts, the more warmly he preſſed her to gratify his paſſion; and, in order to remove all ſuſpicion, he repaired to that temple which the Macedonians held in the greateſt veneration, and there, in the preſence of one of her intimate friends, whom ſhe had ſent to him, he called the tutelar gods of the country to witneſs, embracing their ſtatues at the ſame time, and proteſting, with the moſt dreadful oaths and imprecations, that his views, with reſpect to the marriage he ſolicited, were perfectly pure and innocent.

Arſinoe placed but little confidence in theſe promiſes, though they were uttered before the altars, and had been ratified with the awful ſeal of religion; but ſhe was apprehenſive, at the ſame

* Juſtin. l. xxiv. c. 2—4.

time,

time, that perſiſting in an obſtinate refuſal, would be fatal to her children, for whoſe welfare ſhe was more ſolicitous than her own. She, therefore, conſented at laſt, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greateſt magnificence, and with all the indications of the moſt unaffected joy and tenderneſs. Ceraunus placed the diadem on the head of his ſiſter, and declared her queen, in the preſence of the whole army. Arſinoe felt a real joy, when ſhe beheld herſelf ſo glorioufly re-eſtabliſhed in the privileges of which ſhe had been diveſted by the death of Lyſimachus, her firſt huſband; and ſhe invited her new ſpouſe to reſide with her in her own city of Caſſandria, to which ſhe firſt repaired herſelf, in order to make the neceſſary preparations for his arrival. The temples, on that occaſion, with all the public places and private houſes, were magnificently adorned, and nothing was to be ſeen but altars and victims ready for ſacrifice. The two ſons of Arſinoe, Lyſimachus, who was then 16 years of age, and Philip, who was 13, both princes of admirable beauty, and majeſtic mien, advanced to meet the king, with crowns on their heads, it being a day of ſo much ſolemnity and joy. Ceraunus threw his arms round their necks, and embraced them with as much tenderneſs as could well be by the fondeſt of fathers.

The comic part ended here, and was preſently ſucceeded by a bloody tragedy. As ſoon as he entered the city, he ſeized the citadel, and ordered the two brothers to be murdered. Thoſe unfortunate princes fled for refuge to the queen, who claſped them in her arms, and vainly endeavoured, by covering them with her body, to ſave them from the daggers of their murderers, who killed them in the boſom of their mother. Inſtead of being allowed the ſad conſolation of rendering them the laſt offices, ſhe was firſt dragged out of the city, with her robes all rent, and her hair diſhevelled, and then baniſhed into Samothrace, with only two female ſervants to attend her, mournfully conſidering her ſurviving the princes her ſons as the completion of all her calamities.

*Providence would not ſuffer ſuch crimes to go unpuniſhed, but called forth a diſtant people to be the miniſters of its vengeance.

The Gauls, finding their own country too populous, ſent out a prodigious number of people to ſeek a new ſettlement in ſome other land. This ſwarm of foreigners came from the extremity

* A. M. 3725. Ant. J. C. 279. Juſtin. l. xxiv. et xxv. Pauſan. l. x. p. 643—645. Memn. Exc. apud Photium Eclogæ Diod. Sic. l. xxii. Callim. hymn in Delum, et Schol. ad eundum. Suidas in Γαλάται.

of

of the ocean, and after they had proceeded along the Danube, arrived at the outlet of the Save, and then divided themſelves into three bodies. The firſt, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, entered Pannonia, now known by the name of Hungary; the ſecond marched into Thrace, under Cerethrius; and Belgius led the third into Illyrium and Macedonia.

All the nations near whoſe territories this people approached, were ſtruck with ſo much terror, that inſtead of waiting till they were ſubdued, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to the Gauls, and thought themſelves exceeding happy in purchaſing their liberty with money. Ptolemy Ceraunus*, king of Macedonia, was the only prince who was unaffected at the tidings of this formidable irruption; and running headlong of himſelf on the puniſhment the divine vengeance was preparing to inflict upon him for the murders he had perpetrated, he advanced to meet the Gauls with a ſmall body of undiſciplined troops, as if it had been as eaſy for him to fight battles, as it was to commit crimes. He had even the imprudence to refuſe a ſupply of 20,000 men, which the Dardanians, a neighbouring people to Macedonia, offered him, and anſwered with an inſulting air, that Macedonia would be much to be pitied, if, after it had conquered all the Eaſt, it could need the aid of the Dardanians to defend its frontiers; to which he added with a haughty tone of triumph, that he would face the enemy with the children of thoſe who had ſubdued the univerſe under the enſigns of Alexander.

He expreſſed himſelf in the ſame imperious ſtrain to the Gauls, who firſt offered him peace by a deputation, in caſe he would purchaſe it; but, conceiving this offer the reſult of fear, he replied, that he would never enter into any treaty of peace with them, unleſs they would deliver up ſome of the principal perſons of their nation to him as hoſtages; and that they muſt likewiſe ſend him their arms, before he would place any confidence in their promiſes. This anſwer was received with contempt by the Gauls: and we may from hence obſerve, the methods uſually employed by the Deity, in chaſtiſing the pride and injuſtice of princes; he firſt deprives them of reaſon and counſel, and then abandons them to their vain imaginations.

A few days after this event, a battle was fought, wherein the Macedonians were entirely defeated, and cut to pieces; Ptolemy, covered with wounds, was taken priſoner by the Gauls, who,

* Solus rex Macedoniæ Ptolemæus adventum Gallorum intrepidus audivit, hiſque cum paucis et incompoſitis, quaſi bella non difficilius quam ſcelera patrarentur, parricidiorum furiis agitatus, occurrit. Juſtin.

after

after they had cut off his head, fixed it on a lance, and showed it to the army in deriſion. A very inconſiderable number of Macedonians ſaved themſelves by flight, but all the reſt were either ſlain or made priſoners. The Gauls diſperſed themſelves, after this victory, in order to pillage the adjacent country; upon which Soſthenes, one of the principal perſons among the Macedonians, improving the diſorder in which they were, deſtroyed a great number of their men, and obliged the reſt to quit the country.

Brennus then advanced into Macedonia with his troop: but this leader is not to be confounded with that other Brennus who took the city of Rome about a century before. Upon the intelligence he had received of the firſt ſucceſs of Belgius, and the great booty he had acquired, he envied him the ſpoils of ſo rich a country, and immediately formed a reſolution to have a part; and when he received the news of that general's defeat, that only ſerved as a new motive to haſten his march; his impatience to avenge his countrymen uniting with his deſire to enrich himſelf. Authors have not informed us what became of Belgius and his troop; but, in all probability, he was killed in the ſecond engagement, after which the remains of his army were incorporated into that of Brennus. But however that were, Brennus and Acichorius quitted Pannonia, with an army of 150,000 foot, and 15,000 horſe, and entered Illyrium, in order to paſs into Macedonia and Greece.

During a ſedition which happened in their march, a body of 20,000 men drew off from the main army, and marched, under Leonor and Lutarius, into Thrace, where they joined thoſe whom Cerethrius had already marched into that country; after which they made themſelves maſters of Byzantium, and the weſtern coaſts of the Propontis, and then laid the adjacent country under contribution.

* This deſertion did not prevent Brennus and Acichorius from continuing their march; and they drew, either from Illyrium, or their countrymen the Gauls, ſuch numerous reinforcements, as increaſed their army to 152,000 foot, and 61,200 horſe. The hopes of booty, and ſome advantageous ſettlement, cauſed a vaſt number of ſoldiers to join them in this expedition, and with this army they marched directly to Macedonia, where they overpowered Soſthenes with their multitudes, and ravaged all the country. It will ſoon appear by the ſequel, that Antigonus reigned in Macedonia, after the death of Soſthenes.

* A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

The Gauls, after their conquests in that country, advanced to the straits of Thermopylæ, with an intention to enter Greece, but were stopped for some time by the troops which had been posted there, to defend that important pass; till at last they discovered the way which the army of Xerxes had formerly taken in their passage over these mountains; and the Greeks, to avoid being surrounded by the troops detached against them by the Gauls for that purpose, were obliged to retire and leave them a free passage.

Brennus advanced with the main body of the army towards Delphos, in order to pillage the immense riches of the temple of Apollo, and ordered Acichorius to follow him with the troops under his command; declaring to him, at the same time, with an air of raillery, that "the gods ought in reason to impart some "of their riches to men, who had more occasion for them than "themselves, and employed them in a better manner." * Authors have here taken an opportunity to relate very astonishing events: for they tell us, that when Brennus approached the temple of Delphos, the skies were blackened with a dreadful tempest, and that great numbers of his men were destroyed by hail and thunder. To which they add, that this storm was attended with an earthquake, that rent the mountains, and threw down the rocks, which crushed the Gauls by hundreds at a time; and that the remaining troops were seized with such a panic† the ensuing night, as caused them to mistake their own men for the enemy, in consequence of which they destroyed themselves in such a manner, that before the day grew light enough for them to distinguish each other, above half of the army perished in that manner.

The Greeks, whom the danger of a temple so revered among them had drawn from all parts to preserve it from being plundered, were animated by an event in which heaven itself seemed to declare in their favour, and charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that though Acichorius had joined Brennus, they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Brennus was wounded in several parts of his body, but not mortally: when he saw that all was lost, and that the design he had formed ended in the destruction of his army, he was seized with such despair, as made him resolve not to survive his losses. He accordingly sent for all the officers that could

* Justin. l. xxiv. c. 6—8. Pausan. l. x. p. 652—654.

† The ancients thought these kinds of terrors were infused into the mind by the god Pan. Other reasons are likewise assigned for that name.

be

be assembled, amidst the confusion which reigned among them, and advised them to kill all the wounded men, and make the best retreat in their power. At the close of those expressions, he drank as much wine as he could, plunged his dagger into his own bosom, and expired upon the spot.

Acichorius took the command in chief upon himself, and endeavoured to regain the straits of Thermopylæ, in order to march out of Greece, and conduct the sad remains of that army into their own country. But as he was obliged to pass through a large extent of the enemy's territories, and to hazard a battle every time he wanted provisions for his troops; and as these were always reduced to the necessity of lying on the ground, though it was then the winter season; in a word, as they were constantly harassed from every quarter, by the inhabitants of the countries through which they marched, they were all destroyed, either by famine, cold, distempers, or the sword; and of all that prodigious number of men who engaged in this expedition, not one escaped with life.

Some fabulous exaggerations may possibly be blended with the other circumstances of this event; and chiefly with relation to the sudden tempest that arose, when the Gauls approached Delphos, and that miraculous fall of the rocks on the sacrilegious troops. Perhaps the whole might be no more than a thick flight of arrows, shot by the enemy, who might likewise roll down upon the Gauls huge stones from the tops of the mountains. Such events are entirely natural and customary in attacks like this, which the priests, whose interest it was to magnify the power of their god, might represent with an air of prodigy, and as a miraculous interposition: it is certain that any account of this nature might be easily imposed upon the credulity of the people, who are always fond of giving into the marvellous, and seldom scrupulously examine the truth of such things.

On the other hand, we have no sufficient reason to disbelieve any thing history relates of this event. The enterprise of Brennus was undoubtedly a sacrilegious impiety, and injurious to religion, as well as to the Deity himself; for he spoke and acted in the manner already represented, not from any conviction that those gods were the mere offspring of fable (for he did not think better on that article than the Greeks themselves), but from an absolute contempt of a divinity in general. The idea of a God is impressed on the hearts of all men, and they have through all ages, and in all countries, believed it to be their duty to render certain honours to him. The Pagans were deceived in their application of this principle, but all acknowledged the necessity of it. The Deity, therefore, in mere goodness to mankind, may

have caused his vengeance to be displayed against those, even among the heathens, who testified an open contempt of a supreme Being, in order to preserve the traces and principles of religion in their minds, by some extraordinary indications of his anger, till it pleased him to afford them clearer lights by the ministration of the Mediator, at the appointed time, reserved for the instruction of mankind, in that pure worship which the only true God required from them. We likewise see that the Divine Being, in order to preserve among men a due respect for his providence, and a belief of his peculiar attention to all their actions, has been careful, from time to time, to punish perjuries and other crying offences in a singular manner, and even among the pagans themselves. By which means the belief of that capital point, the first tie of man with God, was maintained amidst all the darkness of Paganism, and the dissoluteness of manners which then prevailed. But it is now time to return to the Gauls.

* Leonor and Lutarius, who had established themselves on the Propontis, advanced to the Hellespont, and surprised Lysimachia, after which they made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but a difference arising between the two chiefs, they separated from each other. Lutarius continued his march along the Hellespont, and Leonor returned to Byzantium with the greatest part of the army.

The latter having afterwards passed the Bosphorus, and the other the Hellespont, met again in Asia, where a reconciliation being effected between them, they rejoined their forces, and entered into the service of Nicomedes king of Bithynia: who, after he had reduced his brother Zipetes by their assistance, and acquired possession of all his father's dominions, assigned to them, for their settlement, that part of Asia Minor which took from them the denomination of Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia. The canonical epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians was written to the descendants of this people; and St. Jerom, above 600 years after the time we now speak of, declared that they continued to speak the same language he had heard at Treves.

The remainder of those who continued in Thrace engaged afterwards in a war with Antigonus Gonatus, who reigned in Macedonia, and most of them were then destroyed. Those few who escaped, either passed into Asia, and rejoined their countrymen in Galatia, or dispersed themselves into other regions, where no further mention is made of them. In this manner ended that terrible inundation of Barbarians, after they had threatened Macedonia, and all Greece, with entire destruction.

* Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 16.

After

* After the death of Softhenes, who defeated the Gauls, and reigned for fome time in Macedonia, Antiochus, the fon of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatus, the fon of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretenfions to that crown, which their fathers had enjoyed, one after the other. Antigonus, who, after the fatal expedition of his father into Afia, had reigned ten years in Greece, finding the ftate of his affairs more favourable than thofe of his competitor, was the firft who afcended the throne, but each of them raifed great armies, and contracted powerful alliances; the one to fupport himfelf in his new conqueft, and the other to difpoffefs him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having efpoufed the party of Antigonus in this conjuncture, Antiochus, when he was preparing to enter Macedonia, was unwilling to leave fo powerful an enemy in his rear. Inftead, therefore, of paffing the Helleſpont, he fuddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were at firft fo equal, that neither party would prefume to attack the other, and continued for fome time in that ftate of inaction; during which a treaty was concerted, and in conſequence Antigonus efpoufed Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antiochus refigned to him his pretenfions to the throne of Macedonia. In this manner he remained peaceable poffeffor, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity, who enjoyed it for feveral generations, till the time of Perſeus, the laſt of this race, who was defeated by Paulus Æmilius, and divefted of his dominions, which the Romans, in a few years after, formed into a province of the empire.

† Antiochus, having thus diſengaged himſelf from this war, marched againſt the Gauls, who, after ſettling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incurſions on all ſides, by which they extremely incommoded their neighbours. Antiochus defeated them with great ſlaughter, and delivered the country from their oppreſſors. This action acquired him the title of Soter, which ſignifies a deliverer.

SECTION VI.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS CAUSES THE BOOKS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE TO BE TRANSLATED INTO GREEK.

THE tumult of the wars ‡ which diverſity of intereſt had kindled among the ſucceſſors of Alexander, throughout the

* A. M. 3728. Ant. J. C. 276. Memnon, apud Phot. c. 19.
† A. M. 3729. Ant. J. C. 275. ‡ A. M. 3727. Ant. J. C. 277.

whole extent of their territories, did not prevent Ptolemy Philadelphus from devoting his utmoſt attention to the noble library he had founded in Alexandria, and wherein he depoſited the moſt valuable and curious books he was capable of collecting from all parts of the world. This prince being informed, that the Jews were maſters of a work which contained the laws of Moſes, and the hiſtory of that people, was deſiring of having it tranſlated out of the Hebrew language into the Greek, in order to enrich his library with that performance. To accompliſh this deſign, it became neceſſary for him to addreſs himſelf to the high-prieſt of the Jewiſh nation; but the affair happened to be attended with great difficulty. A very conſiderable number of Jews had been actually reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery in Egypt, by Ptolemy Soter, during the invaſions of Judæa, in his time; and it was repreſented to the king, that there could be no probability of obtaining from that people either a copy, or a faithful tranſlation of their law, while he ſuffered ſuch a number of their countrymen to continue in their preſent ſervitude. Ptolemy, who always acted with the utmoſt generoſity, and was extremely ſolicitous to enlarge his library, did not heſitate a moment, but iſſued a decree for reſtoring all the Jewiſh ſlaves in his dominions to their full liberty; with orders to his treaſurer to pay 20 drachms * a head to their maſters for their ranſom. The ſum expended on this occaſion amounted to 400 talents †; which make it evident, that 120,000 Jews recovered their freedom by this bounteous proceeding. The king then gave orders for diſcharging the children born in ſlavery, with their mothers, and the ſum employed for this purpoſe amounted to above half the former.

Theſe advantageous preliminaries gave Ptolemy hopes that he ſhould eaſily obtain his requeſt from the high prieſt, whoſe name was Eleazar. He had ſent ambaſſadors to that pontiff, with a very obliging letter on his part, accompanied with magnificent preſents. The ambaſſadors were received at Jeruſalem with all imaginable honours, and the king's requeſt was granted with the greateſt joy: upon which they returned to Alexandria with an authentic copy of the Moſaic law, written in letters of gold, and given them by the high prieſt himſelf, with ſix elders of each tribe, that is to ſay, 72 in whole; and they were authorized to tranſlate that copy into the Greek language.

The king was deſirous of ſeeing theſe deputies, and propoſed to each of them a different queſtion, in order to make a trial of

* About 10s. † About £.60,000.

their

their capacity. He was satisfied with their answers, in which great wisdom appeared, and loaded them with presents, and other marks of his friendship. The elders were then conducted to the isle of Pharos, and lodged in a house prepared for their reception, where they were plentifully supplied with all necessary accommodations. They applied themselves to their work without losing any time, and in 72 days completed the volume which is commonly called the Septuagint Version *. The whole was afterwards read, and approved in the presence of the king, who admired, in a peculiar manner, the wisdom of the laws of Moses, and dismissed the 72 deputies with extremely magnificent presents; part of which were for themselves, others for the high priest, and the remainder for the temple. Expences of this nature, though very considerable, never ruin a state, and do a prince great honour.

The author from whom these facts are extracted is Aristæus, who represents himself as one of the officers of the guard to Ptolemy Philadelphus. He adds a number of other circumstances, which I have omitted, because they seem more improbable than those I have inserted. It is pretended, that the writers, whether Jews, as Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus; or Christians, as Justin, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary, Austin, and some others, who have employed their pens on the subject of the Septuagint version, have founded all their relations on the mere veracity of Aristæus, when the work that bears his name is thought to be a spurious piece. Some of these authors have added circumstances which are generally disbelieved, because they have too much of the marvellous in them. † Philo declares, that though their translations were made in separate apartments, yet the least difference in the sense or style in which they were couched, was so far from appearing, that, on the contrary, the expressions were every-where the same, even to a single word; from whence he concludes, that these persons were not mere translators, but men inspired by the spirit of God, who conducted them on that occasion, and dictated the whole to them, even to the minutest word. Justin, and, after him, the other fathers already mentioned, suppose that each of the seventy-two interpreters performed his version in a separate cell, without the least correspondence with each other, and yet that all their translations were perfectly conformable to each other in every particular.

* It is called the Septuagint, for the sake of the round number seventy, but the sacred books were translated by seventy-two persons.

† Philo de vita Mosis, l. ii. p. 658.

I have

I have frequently declared my reſolution not to enter into any hiſtorical diſquiſitions of this nature, which require much time and learning, and would therefore call off my attention too long from my principal object. The reader may conſult the learned Prideaux, who has treated this ſubject at large. All that can be depended upon, and which no one has thought fit to conteſt, is, that a tranſlation of the ſacred books from the Hebrew into the Greek, was made in Egypt, in the time of the Ptolemies; that we have this tranſlation ſtill extant, and that it is the ſame which was uſed in the time of our bleſſed Saviour, as moſt of the paſſages cited by the ſacred writers of the New Teſtament, from the original Greek of the Old, are to be found verbatim in this verſion. It ſtill ſubſiſts, and continues to be uſed in the Oriental churches; as it alſo was by thoſe in the primitive ages, among whom it paſſed for a canonical tranſlation.

This verſion, therefore, which renders the ſcripture of the Old Teſtament intelligible to a vaſt number of people, became one of the moſt conſiderable fruits of the Grecian conqueſts, and was evidently comprehended in the deſign God had in view, when he delivered up all the Eaſt to the Greeks, and ſupported them in thoſe regions, notwithſtanding their diviſions and jealouſies, their wars, and the frequent revolutions that happened among them. In this manner did God prepare the way for the preaching of the goſpel, which was then approaching, and facilitate the union of ſo many nations, of different languages and manners, into one ſociety, and the ſame worſhip and doctrines, by the inſtrumentality of the fineſt, moſt copious, and correct language that ever was ſpoken in the world, and which became common to all the countries that were conquered by Alexander.

SECTION VII.

THE VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PYRRHUS.—HE IS SLAIN AT THE SIEGE OF ARGOS.

PYRRHUS*, when he returned into Epirus, after he had entirely abandoned Macedonia, might have paſſed his days in tranquillity among his ſubjects, and enjoyed the ſweets of peace, by governing his people agreeably to the rules of juſtice; but a diſpoſition ſo active and impetuous as his own, in conjunction with a reſtleſs and ardent ambition, was incapable of being at reſt itſelf, or ſuffering others to be ſo. This diſpoſition of mind was, in

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 390—397. Pauſan. l. i. p. 21, 22. Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 1, 2.

reality,

reality, a raging fever, which knew no intermiſſion. In a word, he grew inſupportable to himſelf, and was continually flying in purſuit of foreign objects, and in following, from country to country, a felicity no where to be found. He therefore ſeized, with joy, the firſt opportunity that offered for plunging himſelf into new affairs.

* The inhabitants of Tarentum were then at war with the Romans, and their own country not furniſhing them with generals of ſufficient abilities to oppoſe ſuch formidable enemies, they turned their eyes towards Epirus, and diſpatched ambaſſadors thither, not only from themſelves, but from all the Greeks in Italy, with magnificent preſents for Pyrrhus. They had orders to tell him, that they wanted a leader of experience and reputation; that they had a competent number of good troops, and, by only aſſembling the forces of the Lucanians, Meſſapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, were in a condition to bring an army of 20,000 horſe, and 35,000 foot into the field. The joy with which Pyrrhus received a propoſal ſo agreeable to his diſpoſition, and ſo conformable to his character, may be eaſily imagined. The Epirots, by his example, conceived a warm deſire and violent paſſion for this war.

A Theſſalian, named Cineas, was then at the court of Pyrrhus. He was a man of great capacity, and having been the diſciple of Demoſthenes, was diſtinguiſhed from all the orators of that time, not only for coming the neareſt to the force and eloquence of that great maſter, but for having been moſt ſucceſsful in deriving, from ſo excellent a ſchool, the ſolid principles and beſt maxims of true politics. This perſon was much attached to Pyrrhus, who had employed him on embaſſies to ſeveral cities with whom he had negotiations to tranſact. Cineas, through the whole courſe of theſe employments, confirmed, by his conduct, the truth of this expreſſion of Euripides, that "the elo-"quence of an enemy is no leſs prevalent than his ſword:" and Pyrrhus accordingly declared, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence of Cineas, than he could poſſibly have conquered by the force of arms. For this reaſon he entertained the greateſt eſteem for his perſon, conferred many honours upon him, and employed him in the moſt important affairs. A man of this character is always an ineſtimable treaſure, and would conſtitute the happineſs of a prince and his people, were his counſels admitted to take place.

Cineas perceiving that Pyrrhus was preparing to paſs into Italy, and finding him one day diſengaged from affairs, and in a

* A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

temper

temper not to be offended with innocent liberties, entered into a free converſation with that prince. " Your Majeſty intends," ſaid he, " to march againſt the Romans; ſhould the gods be ſo " gracious as to render you victorious, what advantage would " you derive from your conqueſt?" " Were the Romans once " ſubdued by my arms," replied Pyrrhus, " all Italy would then " be ours." " Suppoſing ourſelves maſters of that country," continued Cineas, " how ſhould we proceed next?" Pyrrhus, who did not yet perceive his drift, continued, " Sicily will then " preſent itſelf to us, and you know the importance of that " iſland." " But will our expeditions," added Cineas, " end " with the conqueſt of Sicily?" " No certainly," replied Pyrrhus, with an air of emotion; " can we ſtop ſhort in ſo glorious " a career? If the gods are pleaſed to crown us with ſucceſs, " theſe would be only preludes to more glorious enterpriſes. " Carthage, with all Africa, Macedonia, my ancient domain, " every province in Greece ſhall be part of our future conqueſts." " And when we have conquered all we can, how ſhall we diſ- " poſe of ourſelves?" " Diſpoſe of ourſelves? We will live at " our eaſe. We will paſs whole days in feaſts and agreeable " converſation, and think of nothing but enjoying ourſelves." " Ah! my Lord," interrupted Cineas, " and what prevents us " now from living at eaſe, making of feaſts, celebrating feſtivals, " and enjoying all your Majeſty has mentioned? Why ſhould " we go ſo far in ſearch of an happineſs already in our power, and " pay ſo dear for what we may now enjoy without the leaſt trou- " ble?"

This diſcourſe of Cineas affected, but not corrected Pyrrhus. He could make no reaſonable objection to what he had heard; but his natural ardour, more affecting, more durable, urged him on in purſuit of a phantom of glory, that was always preſenting a deluſive and ſhining outſide to his view, and would not permit him to enjoy the leaſt repoſe, either by night or day.

Monſieur Paſchal has conſidered this reflection of Cineas, in the 26th chapter of his Thoughts, wherein he has explained, in an admirable manner, the origin of the tumultuous employments of mankind, and of all the world calls diverſion or paſtime. " The ſoul," ſays that great man, " diſcovers nothing in her- " ſelf that can furniſh her with contentment. Whatever ſhe " beholds there, afflicts her when ſhe conſiders it ſedately. This " obliges her to have recourſe to external enjoyments, that ſhe " may loſe in them the remembrance of her real ſtate. In this " oblivion conſiſts her joy; and, to render her miſerable, it " ſuffices to oblige her to enter into, and converſe with herſelf."

He then proceeds to juſtify the truth of this reflection, by a variety

variety of examples; after which he adds the following remarks. "When Cineas told Pyrrhus, who propoſed to live at eaſe "when he had conquered a large part of the world, that it "would be better for him to haſten his intended happineſs by "enjoying the repoſe in his power, without going in queſt of it "through ſuch a number of fatigues; he gave him a counſel "that admitted of many difficulties, and which ſeemed almoſt "as irrational as the deſign of that ambitious youth. Each of "them ſuppoſed, that man was capable of being ſatisfied with "himſelf, and his preſent enjoyments, without filling up the "void of his heart with imaginary hopes, which is certainly "falſe. Pyrrhus could not be happy, either before, or after he "had conquered the world; and perhaps the life of eaſe recom-"mended to him by his miniſter would have proved leſs ſatis-"factory to him, than the hurry of all the wars and expeditions "he meditated."

It is certain, however, that neither the philoſopher, nor the conqueror, were in a condition to know the heart of man to the bottom. Pyrrhus, therefore, immediately diſpatched Cineas to the Tarentines, with a band of 3000 foot; ſoon after which a large number of flat-bottomed veſſels, galleys, and all ſorts of tranſport-ſhips arriving from Tarentum, he embarked on board that fleet 20 elephants, 3000 horſe, 20,000 heavy-armed foot, 2000 archers, and 500 ſlingers.

All being ready, he ſet ſail; but as ſoon as he advanced into the open ſea, a violent tempeſt aroſe from the north, and drove him out of his courſe. The veſſel in which he was, yielded at firſt to the fury of the ſtorm; but the care of the pilot and mariners was employed ſo effectually, that he at laſt gained the coaſt of Italy, after a voyage of infinite fatigue and danger. The other ſhips were incapable of holding the ſame courſe. At laſt a ſtrong gale ſprung up from the land, and the waves beat ſo violently againſt the head of the king's ſhip, that they expected it to founder immediately. Pyrrhus did not heſitate a moment in this extremity, but threw himſelf into the ſea, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who were emulous to ſave him at the hazard of their own lives; but the night, which happened to be extremely dark, and the impetuous burſting of the waves upon the coaſt, from whence they were repelled with a loud roar, made it very difficult for them to aſſiſt him; till at laſt the king, after he had ſtruggled with the winds and waves for a conſiderable part of the night, was caſt, the next morning, on the ſhore, the wind being then conſiderably abated. The long fatigue he had ſuſtained, weakened him to ſuch a degree,

gree, that nothing but his courage, always great and invincible, prevented him from ſinking under it.

In the mean time the Meſſapians, on whoſe coaſt the waves had caſt him, haſtened to him with the utmoſt ſpeed, to render him all the aſſiſtance in their power. They alſo went to meet ſome of his ſhips that had eſcaped the ſtorm; but the cavalry they found on board were very inconſiderable in number; the infantry, however, amounted to 2000 men, and had two elephants with them. Pyrrhus, after he had drawn them up in a body, led them directly to Tarentum.

Cineas, as ſoon as he received intelligence of his approach, advanced to him with his troops. Pyrrhus, when he arrived at Tarentum, was extremely ſurpriſed to find the inhabitants ſolely employed in pleaſures, which it was their uſual cuſtom to indulge, without the leaſt prudence or interruption. And they now took it for granted, that whilſt Pyrrhus fought for them, they might quietly continue in their own houſes, ſolely employed in bathing, uſing exquiſite perfumes, feaſting, and recreations. Pyrrhus did not intend to lay them under any conſtraint, till he had received intelligence that his ſhips were ſafe, and till the greateſt part of his army had joined him. He then treated them like one determined to be their maſter. He began with ſhutting up all the public gardens, and places of exerciſe, where the inhabitants uſually entertained themſelves with news, and regulated military affairs as they walked together. He alſo ſuſpended their feaſts and public ſhows, and was altogether as ſevere upon the aſſemblies of newſmongers. In a word, he compelled them to take arms, and behaved at all muſters and reviews with very inexorable ſeverity to thoſe who failed in their duty. In conſequence of which ſeveral, who had never been accuſtomed to ſo rigorous a diſcipline, withdrew from the city; thinking it an inſupportable ſervitude, to be debarred from the full enjoyment of their effeminate pleaſures.

Pyrrhus, about this time, received information that Levinus the conſul was advancing againſt him with a powerful army, and that he was then in Lucania, where he burned and deſtroyed all the country around him. Though the allies of Pyrrhus had not ſent him any ſuccours at that time, yet as he thought it very diſhonourable to permit the enemy to approach nearer him, and commit their ravages in his view, he took the field with the few troops he had. But before he entered upon any hoſtilities, he diſpatched a herald to demand of the Romans, whether they would conſent, before the commencement of the war, to an amicable accommodation of the differences between them and the

Greeks

Greeks of Italy, by referring the whole affair to his judgment and decision? To which Levinus the consul made this reply, "that the Romans neither took Pyrrhus for an arbiter, nor fear-"ed him as an enemy."

Pyrrhus, upon receiving this answer, advanced with his troops, and encamped in a plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and when he heard that the Romans were very near him, and encamped on the other side of the river Siris, he mounted his horse, and approached the bank, to take a view of their situation. When he saw the appearance of their troops, their advanced guards, the fine order observed universally, and the commodious situation of their camp, he was astonished at what he saw; and addressing himself to one of his friends who was then near him—"Megacles," said he, "the disposition of these Barbarians is by "no means barbarous; we shall see whether the rest will corref-"pond with this appearance*:" and already anxious for the success of the future, he resolved to wait the arrival of his allies; thinking it sufficient, at that time, to post a body of troops on the bank of the river, to oppose the Romans, if they should attempt to pass; but this precaution was then too late, for the Roman infantry had already forded the stream, and the cavalry passed it where they found it practicable. The advanced troops of Pyrrhus therefore, not finding themselves sufficiently strong, and fearing to be surrounded by their enemies, were obliged to join the main army with great precipitation; so that Pyrrhus, who arrived there a few moments before, with the rest of his troops, had no time to dispute the passage with the enemy.

As soon as he saw a great number of Roman bucklers glittering on this side of the river, and their cavalry advancing towards him in fine order, he closed his rank, and began the attack. The lustre and beauty of his arms, which were very magnificent, distinguished him in a conspicuous manner; and his actions made it evident, that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit; for while he engaged in the battle, without sparing his own person, and bore down all before him, he was attentive to the functions of a general: and amidst the greatest dangers was perfectly cool, dispatched his commands with as much tranquillity as if he had been in his palace; and sprung from place to place, to reinstate what was amiss, and sustain those who suffered most.

During the heat of the engagement one of the Italian horse,

* The Greeks considered all other nations as barbarians, and treated them accordingly.

with a lance in his hand, ſingled out Pyrrhus from all the reſt of the troops, and followed him with the utmoſt ardour wherever he went, directing all his own motions by thoſe of the king; and having at laſt found a favourable opportunity, he aimed a furious ſtroke at him, but wounded only his horſe. At the ſame time Leonatus of Macedon killed the Italian's horſe. Both horſes being down, Pyrrhus was immediately ſurrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus more precaution than he had practiſed before, and obliged him to be more careful of himſelf; which is an indiſpenſable duty in a general, on whoſe welfare that of a whole army depends. When he beheld his cavalry give way, he ordered his infantry to advance, and immediately drew it up. Then giving his mantle and arms to Megacles, one of his friends, he put on thoſe of the latter, and vigorouſly charged the Romans, who received him with great intrepidity. The battle was obſtinately diſputed on both ſides, and the victory long continued doubtful. Authors ſay, that each army gave way ſeven times, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus, by changing his arms, took a proper method for the preſervation of his life; though in the event, it almoſt proved fatal, and was on the point of wreſting the victory out of his hands. The enemy threw themſelves in throngs about Megacles, whom they took to be the king; and he was at laſt wounded by an horſeman, who left him upon the ſpot, after he had torn off his arms and mantle, which he carried in full ſpeed to Levinus the conſul; and as he ſhowed them to him, cried out aloud, that he had ſlain Pyrrhus. Theſe ſpoils being borne in triumph through all the ranks, filled the whole Roman army with inexpreſſible joy. All the field reſounded with acclamations of victory, while the Grecian troops were ſtruck with univerſal conſternation and diſcouragement.

Pyrrhus, who perceived the terrible effect of this miſtake, flew bare-headed through all the lines, holding out at the ſame time his hand to the ſoldiers, and making himſelf known to them by his voice and geſtures. The battle was then renewed, and the elephants were chiefly inſtrumental in deciding the victory: for when Pyrrhus ſaw the Romans broken by thoſe animals, and that their horſe, inſtead of approaching them, were ſo terrified, that they ran away with their riders, he immediately led up the Theſſalian cavalry againſt them, while they were in confuſion, and put them to flight, after having made a great ſlaughter of them.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus ſays, that near 15,000 Romans were killed

killed in this battle, and that Pyrrhus loſt 13,000 of his men; but other hiſtorians make the loſs leſs on both ſides.

Pyrrhus immediately made himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp, which they had abandoned, brought over ſeveral cities from their alliance, ravaged all the country around him, and advanced within 15 leagues of Rome.

The Lucanians and Samnites having joined him after the battle, he ſeverely reproached them for their delay: but his air and aſpect made it evident, that he was exceedingly delighted at bottom, that his troops, in conjunction with the Tarentines alone, had defeated ſo well-diſciplined and numerous an army of the Romans, without the aſſiſtance of his allies.

The Romans, however, were not dejected at the great loſs they had ſuſtained; and, inſtead of recalling Levinus, were ſolely intent on preparations for a ſecond battle. This exalted turn of ſoul which manifeſted ſo much ſteadineſs and intrepidity, ſurpriſed, and even terrified Pyrrhus. He therefore thought it prudent to diſpatch a ſecond embaſſy, in order to ſound their diſpoſitions, and to ſee if they would not incline to ſome expedient, for an amicable accommodation, and in the mean time returned to Tarentum. Cineas, therefore, being ſent to Rome, had ſeveral conferences with the principal citizens, and ſent preſents, in the name of the king, to them and their wives: but not one Roman would receive them. They all replied, and even their wives, that when Rome had made a public treaty with the king, it would be time enough to expreſs his ſatisfaction with regard to them.

When Cineas was introduced to the ſenate, he acquainted them with the propoſals of his maſter, who offered to deliver up his priſoners to the Romans without any ranſom, and to aid them in the conqueſt of all Italy; requiring, at the ſame time, no other return but their friendſhip, and a ſufficient ſecurity for the Tarentines. Several of the ſenators ſeemed inclinable to a peace; and this was no unreaſonable diſpoſition. They had lately been defeated in a great battle, and were on the point of hazarding another of much more importance. They had likewiſe reaſon to be apprehenſive of many fatal events; the forces of Pyrrhus having been conſiderably augmented by the junction of ſeveral of his Italian allies.

The Roman courage, in this conjuncture, ſeemed to want the animating ſpirit of the celebrated Appius Claudius, an illuſtrious ſenator, whoſe great age, and loſs of ſight, had obliged him to confine himſelf to his family, and retire from public affairs. But when he underſtood, by the confuſed report which was then

diſperſed through the city, that the ſenators were diſpoſed to accept the offers of Pyrrhus, he cauſed himſelf to be carried into the aſſembly, which kept a profound ſilence the moment he appeared. There the venerable old man, whoſe zeal for the honour of his country ſeemed to have inſpired him with all his ancient vigour, made it evident, by reaſons equally ſolid and affecting, that they were on the point of deſtroying, by an infamous treaty, all the glory which Rome had ever acquired. "Where," ſaid he, with a warmth of noble indignation, "where "is the ſpirit that ſuggeſted the bold language you once uttered, and whoſe accents rung through all the world; when you "declared, that if the great Alexander himſelf had invaded "Italy, when we were young, and our fathers in the vigour of "their age, he would never have gained the reputation of being "invincible, but have added new luſtre to the glory of Rome, "either by his flight or death! Is it poſſible then, that you "ſhould now tremble at the mere name of a Pyrrhus, who has "paſſed his days in cringing to one of the guards of that Alex"ander, and who now wanders, like a wretched adventurer, "from country to country, to avoid the enemies he has at home, "and who has the inſolence to promiſe you the conqueſt of "Italy, with thoſe very troops who have not been able to ſecure "him a ſmall tract of Macedonia!" He added many other things of the ſame nature, which awakened the Roman bravery, and diſpelled the apprehenſions of the ſenators; who unanimouſly returned this anſwer to Cineas——"That Pyrrhus ſhould firſt "retire from Italy; after which, if he ſhould find himſelf diſ"poſed for peace, he might ſend an embaſſy to ſolicit it: but "that, as long as he continued in arms in their country, the "Romans would maintain the war againſt him with all their "forces, though he ſhould even vanquiſh ten thouſand ſuch "leaders as Levinus."

It is ſaid, that Cineas, during his continuance at Rome, in order to negotiate a peace, took all the methods of a man of wiſdom and addreſs, to inform himſelf of the manners and cuſtoms of the Romans; their public as well as private conduct, with the form and conſtitution of their government; and that he was induſtrious to obtain as exact an account as poſſible of the forces and revenues of the republic. When he returned to Tarentum, he gave the king a faithful relation of all the diſcoveries he had made in his conferences with the principal men of Rome, and told him, among other particulars, "That the ſe"nate ſeemed to him an aſſembly of kings." A juſt and noble idea of that auguſt body! And with reſpect to the numerous inhabitants

habitants who filled the ſtreets, and all parts of the country, he added, "I greatly fear we are fighting with an hydra." Cineas, indeed, had ſome reaſon for this remark, for the conſul Levinus had at that time an army in the field, twice as numerous as the firſt, and Rome had ſtill an infinite number of men capable of bearing arms, and forming many armies as powerful as that which had been newly levied.

The return of Cineas to Tarentum was immediately ſucceeded by the arrival of ambaſſadors to Pyrrhus from the Romans, among whom was Fabricius, who, as Cineas informed the king, was highly eſteemed at Rome as a virtuous man, and well experienced in military affairs, but that his fortune was extremely low. Pyrrhus received them with extraordinary marks of diſtinction, and treated them with all the honours poſſible. The ambaſſadors, at their audience, ſaid every thing neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture; and as they imagined his thoughts were elate by the victory he had obtained over their troops, they repreſented to him the viciſſitudes and inconſtancy of fortune, which no prudence of man could foreſee; that the greateſt overthrows in the field were incapable of ſinking the Roman fortitude, and conſequently it could never be alarmed at any little diſadvantage; that the examples of ſo many enemies as they had defeated, ſhould teach Pyrrhus to reflect on the enterpriſe he was forming; that he would find, at worſt, that they were enemies prepared to receive him, and in a capacity to defend themſelves. They concluded their remonſtrances with leaving it to his choice, either to receive a ranſom for their ſoldiers who were then his priſoners of war, or to exchange them for ſuch of his troops as the Romans had taken from him.

* Pyrrhus, after a conſultation with his friends, anſwered the ambaſſadors to this effect. "Romans, it is with an ill grace "you demand the priſoners I have taken from you, as you in- "tend to employ them againſt me, after your refuſal of the peace "I propoſed. If our mutual intereſt had been the ſubject of "your attention, you never would have had recourſe to ſuch "evaſions. Be it your care to end, by an amicable treaty, the "war you are maintaining againſt me and my allies, and I pro- "miſe to reſtore you all my priſoners, as well your citizens as "your confederates, without the ranſom you offer me. If you "reject this condition, it is in vain for you to imagine, that "Pyrrhus will ever be prevailed upon to releaſe ſo great a num- "ber of ſoldiers."

* Dion. Halicarn. Excerpt. Legat. p. 744—748.

When he had returned this anſwer to the ambaſſadors, he took Fabricius aſide, and addreſſed him in the following manner. "As for you, Fabricius, I am ſenſible of your merit. I am "likewiſe informed that you are an excellent general, and per- "fectly qualified for the command of an army; that juſtice and "temperance are united in your character, and that you paſs "for a perſon of conſummate virtue. But I am likewiſe as "certain of your poverty; and muſt confeſs, that fortune, in "this particular alone, has treated you with injuſtice, by miſ- "placing you in the claſs of indigent ſenators. In order, there- "fore, to ſupply that ſole deficiency, I am ready to give you as "much gold and ſilver as will raiſe you above the richeſt citi- "zen of Rome; being fully perſuaded, that no expence can "be more honourable to a prince than that which is employed "in the relief of great men, who are compelled by their poverty "to lead a life unworthy of their virtue; and that this is the "nobleſt purpoſe to which a king can poſſibly devote his trea- "ſures. At the ſame time, I muſt deſire you to believe, that "I have no intention to exact any unjuſt or diſhonourable ſer- "vice from you, as a return of gratitude. I expect nothing "from you but what is perfectly conſiſtent with your honour, "and what will add to your authority and importance in your "own country. Let me therefore conjure you to aſſiſt me "with your credit in the Roman ſenate, which has hitherto aſ- "ſumed an air of too much inflexibility, with relation to the "treaty I propoſed, and has never conſulted the rules of mode- "ration in any reſpect. Make them ſenſible, I entreat you, "that I have given my ſolemn word to aſſiſt the Tarentines, and "other Greeks, who are ſettled in this part of Italy; and that "I cannot in honour abandon them on any account, and eſpe- "cially as I am now at the head of a potent army that has al- "ready gained me a battle. I muſt, however, acquaint you, "that I am called, by ſome preſſing affairs, to my own domini- "ons; and this is the circumſtance which makes me wiſh for "peace with the greater ſolicitude. As to any other particu- "lars, if my quality as a king cauſes me to be ſuſpected by the "ſenate, becauſe a number of other princes have openly violated "the faith of treaties and alliances, without the leaſt heſitation; "become my ſecurity yourſelf on this occaſion; aſſiſt me with "your counſels in all my proceedings, and command my armies "under me. I want a virtuous man, and a faithful friend; and "you as much need a prince, whoſe liberalities may enable you "to be more uſeful, and to do more good to mankind. Let us,

"therefore,

" therefore, consent to render mutual assistance to each other, " in all the future conjunctures of our lives."

Pyrrhus having expressed himself in this manner, Fabricius, after a few moments silence, replied to him in these terms. " It " is needless for me to make any mention of the experience I " may possibly have in the conduct of public or private affairs, " since you have been informed of that from others. With re- " spect also to my poverty, you seem to be so well acquainted " with it, that it would be unnecessary for me to assure you, I " have no money to improve, nor any slaves from whom I de- " rive the least revenue: that my whole fortune consists in a " house of no considerable appearance; and in a little spot of " ground that furnishes me with my support. But if you believe " my poverty renders my condition inferior to that of every " other Roman, and that, while I am discharging the duties of " an honest man, I am the less considered, because I happen " not to be of the number of the rich; permit me to acquaint " you, that the idea you conceive of me is not just; and that " whoever may have inspired you with that opinion, or if you " only suppose so yourself, you are deceived to entertain it. " Though I do not possess riches, I never did imagine my indi- " gence a prejudice to me, whether I consider myself as a pub- " lic or a private person. Did my necessitous circumstances ever " induce my country to exclude me from those glorious employ- " ments, that are the noblest objects of the emulation of great " souls? I am invested with the highest dignities, and see my- " self placed at the head of the most numerous embassies. I " assist also at the most august assemblies, and even the most sa- " cred functions of divine worship are confided to my care. " Whenever the most important affairs are the subject of delibe- " ration, I hold my rank in councils, and offer my opinion with " as much freedom as another. I preserve a parity with the " richest and most powerful persons in the republic; and, if any " circumstance causes me to complain, it is my receiving too " much honour and applause from my fellow-citizens. The " employments I discharge cost me nothing of mine, no more " than any other Roman. Rome never reduces her citizens to " a ruinous condition, by raising them to the magistracy. She " gives all necessary supplies to those she employs in public sta- " tions, and bestows them with liberality and munificence. Rome, " in this particular, differs from many other cities, where the pu- " blic is extremely poor, and private persons immensely rich. We " are all in a state of affluence, as long as the republic is so, be- " cause we consider her treasures as our own. The rich and the

" poor

" poor are equally admitted to her employments, as ſhe judges " them worthy of truſt, and ſhe knows no diſtinction between her " citizens but thoſe of merit and virtue. As to my particular " affairs, I am ſo far from repining at my fortune, that I think I " am the happieſt of men when I compare myſelf with the rich; " and find a certain ſatisfaction, and even pride, in that fortune. " My little field, poor and unfertile as it is, ſupplies me with " whatever I want, when I am careful to cultivate it as I ought, " and to lay up the fruits it produces. What can I want more? " Every kind of food is agreeable to my palate, when ſeaſoned " by hunger: I drink with delight when I thirſt, and enjoy all " the ſweetneſs of ſleep when fatigued with toil. I content my- " ſelf with an habit that covers me from the rigours of winter; " and of all the various kinds of furniture neceſſary for the ſame " uſes, the meaneſt is, in my ſenſe, the moſt commodious. I " ſhould be unreaſonable, unjuſt, ſhould I complain of fortune, " whilſt ſhe ſupplies me with all that nature requires. As to " ſuperfluities, I confeſs ſhe has not furniſhed me with any; " but then ſhe has not formed me with the leaſt deſire to enjoy " them. Why ſhould I then complain? It is true, the want " of this abundance renders me incapable of relieving the neceſ- " ſitous, which is the only advantage the rich may be envied for " enjoying. But when I impart to the republic, and my friends, " ſome portion of the little I poſſeſs, and render my country all " the ſervices I am capable of performing; in a word, when I " diſcharge all the duties incumbent on me, to the beſt of my " ability, wherein can my conſcience condemn me? If riches " had ever been the leaſt part of my ambition, I have ſo long " been employed in the adminiſtration of the republic, that I " have had a thouſand opportunities of amaſſing great ſums, and " even by irreproachable methods. Could any man deſire one " more favourable than that which occurred a few years ago? " The conſular dignity was conferred upon me, and I was ſent " againſt the Samnites, the Brutii, and the Lucanians, at the " head of a numerous army. We ravaged a large tract of land, " and defeated the enemy in ſeveral battles: we took many flou- " riſhing and opulent cities by aſſault; I enriched the whole " army with their ſpoils; I returned every citizen the money he " had contributed to the expence of the war; and after I had " received the honours of a triumph, I brought 400 talents into " the public treaſury. After having neglected ſo conſiderable a " booty, of which I had full power to appropriate any part to " myſelf; after having deſpiſed ſuch immenſe riches ſo juſtly ac- " quired, and ſacrificed the ſpoils of the enemy to the love of

" glory,

" glory, in imitation of Valerius Publicola, and many other great " men, whoſe diſintereſted generoſity of mind has raiſed the " glory of Rome to ſo illuſtrious an height; would it now be- " come me to accept of the gold and ſilver you offer me? What " idea would the world entertain of me? And what an example " would I ſet Rome's citizens? How could I bear their re- " proaches? how even their looks at my return? Thoſe awful " magiſtrates, our cenſors, who are appointed to inſpect our diſ- " cipline and manners with a vigilant eye, would they not com- " pel me to be accountable, in the view of all the world, for the " preſents you ſolicit me to accept? You ſhall keep then, if you " pleaſe, your riches to yourſelf, and I my poverty and my re- " putation."

I take it for granted, that the hiſtorian furniſhed Pyrrhus and Fabricius with theſe ſpeeches, but he has only painted their ſentiments, eſpecially thoſe of the latter, in ſtrong colours; for ſuch was the character of the Romans in thoſe glorious ages of the republic. Fabricius was really perſuaded, there was more glory and grandeur in being able to deſpiſe all the gold of a king, than there was in reigning over an empire*.

† Pyrrhus being deſirous the next day to ſurpriſe the Roman ambaſſador, who had never ſeen an elephant, ordered the captain of thoſe animals to arm the largeſt of them, and lead him to the place where he intended to converſe with Fabricius; the officer was then to place him behind a large hanging of tapeſtry, that he might be ready to make his appearance at a certain ſignal. This was accordingly executed; and the ſignal being given, the tapeſtry was drawn aſide, and preſented to view the enormous animal, who ſtretched out his trunk over the head of Fabricius, and ſhook the apartment with a moſt terrible cry. Fabricius, inſtead of diſcovering the leaſt ſurpriſe or conſternation, turned very calmly to Pyrrhus, and ſaid to him with a ſmile, " Neither " your gold yeſterday, nor your elephant to day, alter me."

Whilſt they were ſitting at table in the evening, the converſation turned upon a variety of ſubjects; and after ſome conference on the affairs of Greece, and the ſeveral philoſophers of note, Cineas introduced the opinions of Epicurus, and related the particular opinions of his diſciples, with reference to the gods, and the government of the world: declaring, that they repreſented

* Fabricius Pyrrhi regis aurum repulit, majuſque regno judicavit regias opes poſſe contemnere. Senec. Epiſt. 129.

† Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 395—397.

pleaſure

pleaſure as the end and ſovereign good of man, and declined all dignities and employments, as deſtructive to happineſs. To this he added, that they never aſcribed to the divinity, either love or hatred, or wrath; but maintained, that he was entirely regardleſs of mankind; and that they conſigned him to a life of tranquillity, in which he paſſed all ages void of occupation, and plunged in an endleſs variety of delights and pleaſures. The ſoft and voluptuous lives of the Tarentines might probably occaſion this diſcourſe. Whilſt Cineas was going on with his ſubject, Fabricius, to whom ſuch a doctrine was altogether new, cried out as loud as he was able, "Great Hercules, may Pyrrhus "and the Samnites follow this doctrine, as long as they ſhall "make war with the Romans!"

Who of us moderns, were we to judge of the manners of the ancients by thoſe which prevail in our age, would expect to hear the converſation between great warriors, at table, turn, not only on political ſyſtems, but points of erudition; for, at that time, philoſophical inquiries were conſidered as the principal part of learning? Are not ſuch diſcourſes as theſe, ſeaſoned with improving reflections, and enlivened with ſprightly replies, equal at leaſt to thoſe table-converſations, which frequently continue as long as the entertainment, and are paſſed, without much expence of genius, in exclamations, worthy of Epicureans, on the delicacy of the proviſions, and the admirable flavour of the wines and other liquors?

Pyrrhus was ſtruck with ſo much admiration at the greatneſs of ſoul which he diſcovered in the Roman ambaſſador, and was ſo charmed with his manners and his wiſdom, that he became more impatient than ever to contract an alliance with his city. He therefore took him apart, and conjured him, a ſecond time, to mediate an accommodation between the two ſtates, and conſent to reſide at his court, where he ſhould hold the firſt rank among all his friends and captains. "I would not adviſe you to perſiſt in that requeſt," replied Fabricius, whiſpering in his ear with a ſmile, "and you ſeem to be but little acquainted with your own "intereſt; for if thoſe who now honour and admire you, ſhould "once happen to know me, perhaps they might be more deſirous "of having me for their king than yourſelf."

The prince, inſtead of being offended at this reply, eſteemed him the more for making it, and would entruſt the priſoners with none but him, that he might be certain they would be ſent back to him, after they had embraced their relations and friends, and celebrated the Saturnalia, in caſe the ſenate ſhould continue averſe

averſe to a peace. They were accordingly ſent to him at the expiration of the feſtival, the ſenate having ordered every priſoner to return to Pyrrhus, upon pain of death.

The command of the army being conferred on Fabricius the following year, an unknown perſon came into his camp, with a letter from the king's phyſician, who offered to take Pyrrhus off by poiſon, if the Romans would promiſe him a recompence, proportionable to the ſervice he ſhould render them, by putting an end to ſo deſtructive a war without any danger to themſelves. Fabricius, who retained the ſame probity and juſtice*, even in time of war, which furniſhes ſo many pretexts for departing from them, and as he knew there were ſome rights, which ought to be preſerved inviolable, even with enemies themſelves, was ſtruck with a juſt horror at this propoſal: and as he would not ſuffer the king to conquer him with gold, he thought it would be infamous in himſelf to conquer the king by poiſon. After ſome conference, therefore, with his colleague Æmilius, he wrote a letter to Pyrrhus, to caution him againſt that black treachery. His letter was conceived in theſe terms:

CAIUS FABRICIUS AND QUINTUS ÆMILIUS,
CONSULS;
TO KING PYRRHUS;
HEALTH.

"YOU ſeem to form a wrong judgment both of friends and "enemies; and this will be your own opinion, when you have "read the letter which has been written to us: for you will "then be ſenſible, that you are carrying on a war againſt peo- "ple of virtue and honour, at the ſame time that you repoſe "entire confidence in the worſt of men. The information we "now ſend you, reſults more from our affection for ourſelves, "than for you; for we were unwilling that your death ſhould "give the world occaſion to defame us; and would not have "it imagined that we had recourſe to treachery, through deſ- "pair of terminating this war happily by our valour."

Pyrrhus having received this letter, and finding it to be a true repreſentation of the fact, cauſed his phyſician to be puniſhed,

* Ejuſdem animi fuit, auro non vinci, veneno non vincere. Admirati ſumus ingentem virum, quem non regis, non contra regem promiſſa flexiſſent; boni exempli tenacem; quod difficillimum eſt, in bello innocentem; qui aliquod eſſe crederet etiam in hoſte nefas; qui in ſumma paupertate, quam ſibi decus fecerat, non aliter refugit divitias quam venenum. Senec. Epiſt. 120.

and

and ſent back all his priſoners to the conſul without ranſom, as a teſtimonial of his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans. He likewiſe deputed Cineas to negociate a peace; but the Romans, who would never accept either a favour from their enemy, or a recompence for not committing the moſt execrable piece of injuſtice, were not averſe to receiving the priſoners: they however returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites, as an equivalent; but as to the treaty of pacification, they would not permit Cineas to mention it, till Pyrrhus had returned to Epirus in the ſame fleet that landed him and his troops in Italy. But as his affairs made a ſecond battle neceſſary, he aſſembled his army, and attacked the Romans near the city of Aſculum.

The troops fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides, and the victory continued doubtful till the cloſe of the battle. Pyrrhus, at the beginning of the action, having been driven into places impracticable to the cavalry, and againſt a river very difficult, as well in regard to its banks as marſhes on the ſides of it, was treated very rudely by the enemy, and loſt a great number of his men. But having at laſt diſengaged himſelf from that diſadvantageous ſituation, and regained the plain, where he could make uſe of his elephants, he advanced againſt the Romans with the greateſt impetuoſity, his ranks being all in good order and well cloſed; and as he met with a vigorous reſiſtance, the ſlaughter became very great, and he himſelf was wounded. He, however, had diſpoſed his elephants ſo judiciouſly, that they broke through the Roman infantry, in ſeveral quarters, notwithſtanding which they ſtill maintained their ground. The two armies, fired with implacable rage, exerted the utmoſt efforts that bravery could inſpire, and did not ceaſe fighting till night parted them. The loſs was almoſt equal on both ſides, and amounted to 15,000 men in the whole. The Romans were the firſt who retreated, and gained their camp, which was near the field of battle. The advantage, therefore, ſeemed to remain with Pyrrhus, who continued longeſt in the field; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him on his victory, "If we "gain ſuch another," replied he, "we are inevitably ruined." And as he had really loſt his beſt troops and braveſt officers, he was very ſenſible of his inability to bring another army into the field againſt the Romans, whoſe very defeat inſpired them with new vigour and ardour to continue the war*.

* Per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo
Ducit opes animumque ferro. HORAT.

While

*While he was revolving these melancholy thoughts in his mind, and had the mortification to see himself in a manner destitute of all resource, and incapable of recurring to any honourable expedient, to disengage himself from an enterprise he had undertaken too inconsiderately, a dawn of hope and good fortune inspired him with a new resolution. A deputation was sent to him at that critical juncture from Sicily, with a commission to deliver Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines, into his possession; †and to implore the assistance of his arms to drive the Carthaginians from their island, and deliver them from their tyrants. Several couriers from Greece also arrived at his camp at the same time, to inform him that Ceraunus had been killed in a battle with the Gauls in Macedonia, and that this kingdom seemed to invite him to ascend the throne.

Pyrrhus then found himself in a new perplexity. A moment before he was destitute of all hope, and now it flowed so fast upon him, that he was at a loss to determine which offer he ought to prefer. But after a long deliberation, and when he had maturely weighed the reasons that offered themselves on both sides, he resolved for Sicily, which would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory. In consequence of this resolution, he immediately dispatched Cineas to treat with the cities, and gave them assurances of his speedy arrival; he then embarked for Sicily, after he had left a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the repugnance of the inhabitants, who had the mortification of seeing themselves abandoned by Pyrrhus, and reduced at the same time to a state of slavery by his troops.

When he arrived in Sicily, he immediately became master of Syracuse, which was delivered up to him by Sostratus‡, who then governed that city, and by Thenon, who commanded in the citadel. He also received money from them, out of the public treasury, and about 200 ships, which facilitated his conquest of all Sicily. His insinuating and affable behaviour at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the people; and as he had then an army of 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse, with a fleet of 200 sail, he dispossessed the Carthaginians of their settlements in that island, and obliged them to evacuate the city of Eryx, which was

* Plut. in Pyrr. p. 397, 398. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. et l. xxiii. c. 3.

† A. M. 3726. Ant. J. C. 278.

‡ He is called Sesistrates by Dionysius Halicarnassus.

the ſtrongeſt of all their places there, and the beſt furniſhed with people for its defence. He alſo defeated, in a great battle, the inhabitants of Meſſina, who were called Mamertines *, and whoſe frequent irruptions infeſted all Sicily, and entirely demoliſhed all their fortreſſes.

The rapid progreſs of his arms terrified the Carthaginians, who were now diveſted of all their acquiſitions in Sicily, except the ſingle city of Lilybæum; and they ſent to purchaſe peace and his friendſhip with money and ſhips. But as he aſpired to much greater things, he anſwered them, that the only method to obtain what they deſired, would be to abandon Sicily, and conſent to let the Libyan ſea be the boundary between them and the Greeks. He intended to beſtow Sicily on his ſon Helenus, as a kingdom to which he had a right by birth, this prince being his ſon by the daughter of Agathocles; and he propoſed to give his ſon Alexander the kingdom of Italy, which he looked upon as a certain conqueſt.

A continued ſeries of proſperity, and the numerous forces under his command, had raiſed his hopes ſo high at that time, that he thought of nothing but accompliſhing the great views that had drawn him into Sicily; the firſt and principal of which was the conqueſt of Africa. He had a ſufficient number of veſſels for that great expedition, but wanted mariners; in order, therefore, to obtain that ſupply, he obliged the cities to furniſh him with men, and ſeverely puniſhed thoſe who neglected to obey his orders.

In conſequence of theſe proceedings, his power was ſoon changed into an inſolent and tyrannical ſway, which firſt drew upon him the hatred of the family and friends of Agathocles, whom he deprived of all the fortunes they had received from that prince, and beſtowed them upon his own creatures. †In contempt of the cuſtoms of that country, he alſo conferred the firſt dignities and the government of cities, on his guards and centurions, whom he continued in the magiſtracy as long as he thought proper, and without any regard to the time preſcribed by the laws. And as to all judicial proceedings with reſpect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary ſentence, or left them to the determination of

* The word ſignifies Martial, becauſe they were a very warlike people. They originally came from Italy, and having made themſelves maſters of Meſſina, into which they had been received, they retained their own name there, though that of the city was not changed.

† Dion. Halic. in Excerpt. p. 571.

his

his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves by sordid gain, and live in all manner of luxury, profusion, and debauchery.

A conduct so oppressive and different from that by which he at first had so well succeeded, could not fail to alienate the affection of the people from him; and when he became sensible that he was universally hated, and that the Sicilians, exasperated at his odious government, were solicitous to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew were at his devotion, under pretext that the Carthaginians were preparing to invade him. He also seized the most illustrious citizens of each city, and caused them to be put to death, after he had charged them with treasonable conspiracies. Of this number was Thenon, the commander of the citadel: and all the important services he had rendered the king of Epirus did not suffice to exempt him from so cruel a policy; though it was allowed that he had contributed more than any other person to reduce Sicily under Pyrrhus. He also resolved to have Sostratus seized; but as he had some suspicion of what was intended against him, he found means to quit the city. A prince hazards all things when he loses the affection of his people, which is the strongest tie that unites them to their sovereign. The same barbarous and unjust treatment of the principal citizens of Syracuse, who had conduced most to the progress of his power in that island, rendered him entirely odious and insupportable to the Sicilians. Such was the character of Pyrrhus: his vigorous conduct in the enterprises he undertook, facilitated his conquest of kingdoms and provinces, but he wanted art to preserve them*. The aversion which the cities conceived against him was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, in order to destroy him.

At this juncture, when he beheld nothing but new insurrections and revolts kindling all around, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, which informed him, that they had been dispossessed of all their lands, and were then shut up in their cities, where it would be impossible for them to sustain the war, unless he would hasten to their assistance. These letters arrived at a proper time for affording him an honourable pretext for his departure, and preventing it from appearing a flight from Sicily, as if he despaired of succeeding any longer in that island.

* Ut ad divincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita divictis aquisitisque celeriter carebat; tanto meliùs studebat acquirere imperia, quam retinere. Justin. l. xxv. c. 4.

As he was embarking at Syracuſe, the Carthaginians attacked him in ſuch a manner, as obliged him to fight, in the very port, againſt thoſe Barbarians, where he loſt ſeveral of his ſhips. This, however, did not prevent him from ſailing to Italy with thoſe that remained; but upon his arrival there, he found a great body of Mamertines, who had paſſed thither before him, to the number of near 10,000 men, and greatly incommoded his march, by frequently haraſſing his troops, and making repeated attacks upon his rear-guard.

* Livy and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus tell us one circumſtance not very much to the honour of Pyrrhus's memory. In Locris was a celebrated temple, conſecrated to Proſerpine, and held in the greateſt veneration by all the inhabitants of that country, as well as by ſtrangers; and no one had ever preſumed to violate it, though it was certain that immenſe treaſures were depoſited within it. † Pyrrhus, who then wanted money extremely, was not ſo ſcrupulous, but carried off all the riches of the goddeſs, and lodged them in his ſhip. The next day, if hiſtory may be credited, his fleet was ſhattered by a violent tempeſt, and all the veſſels that were laden with theſe rich and ſacred ſpoils were caſt upon the coaſts of Locris. This proud prince, ſays Livy, being convinced by this cruel diſaſter, that the gods were not imaginary beings, cauſed all the treaſures to be replaced in the temple with the utmoſt devotion. The goddeſs, however, was not appeaſed by this involuntary reſtitution; and the author who relates this event, repreſents this impious ſacrilege as the cauſe of all the future calamities which happened to Pyrrhus, and particularly of the unfortunate death which put an end to his enterpriſes.

‡ Pyrrhus, after he had ſuffered by this tempeſt, arrived at Tarentum with 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe, and when he had reinforced them with the beſt troops he could find in that city, he advanced, by long marches, againſt the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

This people retained a ſecret reſentment againſt Pyrrhus, for deſerting them, when he undertook his expedition into Sicily; for which reaſon he was joined by very few of their troops. This, however, did not prevent him from dividing his army into two bodies; one of which he ſent into Lucania, to oppoſe the conſul, who was there at that time, and to render him incapable of aſ-

* Plut. in Pyrr. p. 399. Pauſan. l. i. p. 22. Juſtin, l. xxiii. c. 3.
† Liv. l. xxix. n. 26. Dionyſ. Halicarn. in Excerp. p. 542.
‡ A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274.

ſiſting

fisting his colleague: the other he led himself against Manius Curius, the other consul, who had intrenched himself in a very advantageous post, near the city of Beneventum, where he waited for the succours that were advancing to him from Lucania.

Pyrrhus hastened, as much as possible, to attack this last, before the other had joined him; and with this view he selected his best troops, with such of his elephants as were strongest, and of most service in the field; after which he began his march about the close of the evening, in order to surprise the consul in his camp. The enemy, however, discovered him the next morning, as he was descending the mountains; and Manius, having marched out of his intrenchments with a body of troops, fell upon the first he met. These he soon put into confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to flight, which spread universal terror among the rest, great numbers of whom were slain, and even some of the elephants taken.

This success emboldened Manius to draw all his troops out of their intrenchments, in order to combat in the open plain. One of his wings had the advantage, at the beginning of the battle, and pushed their enemies with great vigour; but the other was overthrown by the elephants, and driven back to their camp. In this emergency, he sent for the troops he had left behind him to guard the intrenchments, and who were all fresh and under arms. These forces advanced in the critical moment, and with their pikes and darts compelled the elephants to turn their backs and fall upon their own battalions; which created such a general confusion, that the Romans at last obtained a complete victory, which, in some sense, was of no less value to them than their future conquest of all nations: for the intrepidity they discovered in this engagement, and the gallant actions they performed in all the battles they fought with such an enemy as Pyrrhus, increased their reputation, as well as their fortitude and confidence in their own bravery, and caused them to be considered as invincible. This victory over Pyrrhus rendered them indisputable masters of all Italy between the two seas; and this acquisition was soon succeeded by the wars with Carthage, in which, having at last subdued that potent rival, they no longer beheld any power in a condition to oppose them.

In this manner did Pyrrhus find himself fallen from all the high hopes he had conceived, with relation to Italy and Sicily, after he had consumed six whole years in those wars, and entirely ruined his own affairs. It must be acknowledged, however, that he preserved an invincible fortitude of mind, amidst all these disgraces; and his experience, in military affairs, with his valour

and intrepidity, caused him always to pass for the first of all the kings and generals of his time. But whatever he acquired by his great exploits, he soon lost by his vain hopes; for his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained rendered him incapable of preserving what was already in his possession. This disposition of his made Antigonus compare him to a man who threw good casts at table, but played them very ill.

* He at length returned to Epirus, with 8000 foot and 500 horse; but as his revenues were not sufficient for the subsistence of these troops, he was industrious to find out some new war for their support; and having received a reinforcement of some Gauls who joined him, he threw himself into Macedonia, where Antigonus then reigned. His intention was only to ravage the country, and carry off a great booty; but when he had once made himself master of several cities, without difficulty, and had also seduced 2000 of Antigonus' soldiers over to his party, he indulged the most exalted hopes, marched against Antigonus himself, attacked him in the defiles, and put his whole army into disorder. A large body of other Gauls, who formed the rear guard of Antigonus, courageously sustained his efforts for some time, and the encounter grew very warm; but most of them were at last cut to pieces; and those who commanded the elephants, being surrounded by his troops, surrendered themselves prisoners, and delivered up the elephants. The Macedonian phalanx was all that now remained; but the troops who composed this corps were struck with terror and confusion at the defeat of their rear guard. Pyrrhus, perceiving that they seemed to refuse fighting him, stretched out his hand to the commanders, and other officers, and called each of them by his name. This expedient gained him all the infantry of Antigonus, who was obliged to have recourse to flight, in order to preserve some of the maritime places in their obedience to him.

Pyrrhus was exceedingly animated by this victory, as may be judged by the following inscription on the spoils which he consecrated to the Itonian * Minerva. "Pyrrhus, king of the "Molossians, consecrates to the Itonian Minerva these buck-"lers of the fierce Gauls, after he had defeated the whole army "of Antigonus. Let no one be surprised at this event. The

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400. Pausan. l. i. c. 23. Justin. l. xxv. c. 3.

* Minerva was called Itonia, from Itonus, the son of Amphictyon, and she had two temples dedicated to her under this name; one in Thessaly, near Lariſſa, which was the same with that in the passage before us: the other was in Bœotia, near Coronæa.

"descendants

"descendants of Æacus are still, as they originally were, perfect-
"ly brave and valiant."

Pyrrhus, after this victory, made himself master of all the cities of Macedonia, and particularly of Ægę †, whose inhabitants he treated with great severity, and garrisoned their city with part of his Gauls, a people as insatiable and rapacious after money, as any nation that was ever in the world. The moment they took possession of the city, they began with plundering the tombs of the Macedonian kings, whose remains were deposited there. They also carried off all the riches inclosed in those monuments, and, with sacrilegious insolence, scattered the ashes of those princes in the air. Pyrrhus lightly passed over this infamous action; either because the important affairs he then had upon his hands engaged his whole attention, or that his pressing occasion for the service of these Barbarians rendered him unwilling to alienate their affection from him, by too strict an inquiry into this proceeding, which would make it necessary for him to punish the delinquents. So criminal a connivance sunk him very much in the opinion of the Macedonians.

* Though his affairs were not established on so secure a foundation as to give him just reason to be void of apprehension, he conceived new hopes, and engaged in new enterprises. Cleonymus, the Spartan, came to solicit him to march his army against Lacedæmonia, and Pyrrhus lent a willing ear to that proposal. This Cleonymus was of the royal race. Cleonymus, his father, who was king of Sparta, had two sons; Acrotates, and Cleonymus. The former, who was the eldest, died before his father, and left a son named Areus. After the death of the old king, a dispute with relation to the sovereignty arose between Areus and Cleonymus; and as this latter seemed to be a man of a violent and despotic disposition, the contest was decided in favour of Areus. Cleonymus, when he was much advanced in age, espoused a very beautiful woman, whose name was Chelidonida, the daughter of Leotychidas. This young lady conceived a violent passion for Acrotates, the son of king Areus, who was very amiable, finely shaped, and in the flower of his youth. This circumstance rendered her marriage not only a very melancholy, but dishonourable affair, to her husband Cleonymus, who was equally transported with love and jealousy; for his disgrace was

* A city of Macedonia on the river Haliacmon.

† A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 400—403. Paus. l. i. p. 23, 24. et l. iii. p. 168. Justin. l. xxv. c. 4.

public,

public, and every Spartan acquainted with the contempt his wife entertained for him. Animated, therefore, with a burning impatience to avenge himself at once on his partial citizens and his faithless wife, he prevailed with Pyrrhus to march against Sparta, with an army of 25,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 24 elephants.

These great preparations for war made it immediately evident, that Pyrrhus was more intent to conquer Peloponnesus for himself, than to make Cleonymus master of Sparta. This, indeed, he strongly disavowed in all his discourse; for when the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to him during his residence at Megalopolis, he assured them that no hostilities were intended by him against Sparta, and that he only came to restore liberty to those cities which Antigonus possessed in that country. He even declared to them, that he designed to send his youngest children to Sparta, if they would permit him so to do, that they might be educated in the manners and discipline of that city, and have the advantage, above all other kings and princes, of being trained up in so excellent a school.

With these flattering promises he amused all such as presented themselves to him in his march; but those persons must be very thoughtless and imprudent, who place any confidence in the language of politicians, with whom artifice and deceit pass for wisdom, and faith for weakness and want of judgment. Pyrrhus had no sooner advanced into the territories of Sparta, than he began to ravage and plunder all the country around him.

He arrived in the evening before Lacedæmon, which Cleonymus desired him to attack without a moment's delay, that they might take advantage of the confusion of the inhabitants, who had no suspicion of a siege, and of the absence of king Areus, who was gone to Crete to assist the Gortynians. The helots, and friends of Cleonymus, were so confident of success, that they were then actually preparing his house for his reception; firmly persuaded he would sup there that very night with Pyrrhus. But this prince, who looked upon the conquest of the city as inevitable, deferred the assault till the next morning. That delay saved Sparta, and showed that there are favourable and decisive moments which must be seized immediately, and which, once neglected, never return.

When night came, the Lacedæmonians deliberated on the expediency of sending their wives to Crete, but were opposed by them in that point. One among them, in particular, whose name was Archidamia, rushed into the senate with a drawn sword, and after

after ſhe had uttered her complaints, in the name of the reſt, demanded of the men who were there aſſembled, "What could "be their inducement to entertain ſo bad an opinion of them, "as to imagine they would conſent to live after the deſtruction "of Sparta?"

The ſame council gave directions for opening a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, in order to oppoſe their approaches to the city, by placing troops along that work: but, as the abſence of their king, and the ſurpriſe with which they were then ſeized, prevented them from raiſing a ſufficient number of men, to form a front equal to that of the enemy, and engage them in the open field, they reſolved to ſhut themſelves up as ſecurely as poſſible, by adding to each extremity of the ditch a kind of intrenchment, formed by a barricade of carriages, ſunk in the earth, up to the axle-trees of the wheels, that by theſe means they might check the impetuoſity of the elephants, and prevent the cavalry from aſſaulting them in flank.

While the men were employed in this work, their wives and daughters came to join them; and after they had exhorted thoſe who were appointed for the encounter to take ſome repoſe, while the night laſted, they proceeded to meaſure the length of the trench, and took in the third part of it for their own ſhare in the work, which they completed before day. The trench was nine feet in breadth, ſix in depth, and 900 in length.

When day appeared, and the enemy began to be in motion, thoſe women preſented arms to all the young men, and, as they were retiring from the trench they had made, they exhorted them to behave in a gallant manner; intreating them, at the ſame time, to conſider how glorious it would be for them to conquer in the ſight of their country, and breathe their laſt in the arms of their mothers and wives, after they had proved themſelves worthy of Sparta by their valour. When Chelidonida, in particular, retired with the reſt, ſhe prepared a cord, which ſhe intended ſhould be the fatal inſtrument of her death, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her huſband, if the city ſhould happen to be taken.

Pyrrhus, in the mean time, advanced at the head of his infantry, to attack the Spartan front, who waited for him on the other ſide of the trench, with their bucklers cloſely joined together. The trench was not only very difficult to be paſſed, but the ſoldiers of Pyrrhus could not even approach the edge of it, nor maintain a good footing, becauſe the earth, which had been newly thrown up, eaſily gave way under them. When his ſon Ptolemy ſaw this inconvenience, he drew out 2000 Gauls,

Gauls, with a ſelect band of Chaonians, and filed off along the trench to the place where the carriages were diſpoſed, in order to open a paſſage for the reſt of the troops. But theſe were ranged ſo thick, and ſunk to ſuch a depth in the earth, as rendered his deſign impracticable. Upon which the Gauls endeavoured to ſurmount this difficulty, by diſengaging the wheels, in order to draw the carriages into the adjoining river.

The young Acrotates was the firſt who ſaw the danger, and immediately ſhot through the city with 300 ſoldiers. Having taken a large compaſs, he poured upon the rear of Ptolemy's troops, without being diſcovered in his approach, becauſe he advanced through hollow ways. Upon this ſudden attack, as their ranks were broken, and their troops thrown into diſorder, they crowded and preſſed upon each other, and moſt of them rolled into the ditch, and fell around the chariots. In a word, after a long encounter, which coſt them a vaſt quantity of blood, they were repulſed, and obliged to have recourſe to flight. The old men, and moſt of the women ſtood on the other ſide of the trench, and beheld with admiration the undaunted bravery of Acrotates. As for him, covered with blood, and exulting from his victory, he returned to his poſt amidſt the univerſal applauſe of the Spartan women, who extolled his valour, and envied, at the ſame time, the glory and happineſs of Chelidonida: an evident proof that the Spartan ladies were not extremely delicate in point of conjugal chaſtity.

The battle was ſtill hotter along the edge of the diteh, where Pyrrhus commanded, and which was defended by the Lacedæmonian infantry: the Spartans fought with great intrepidity, and ſeveral among them diſtinguiſhed themſelves very much; particularly Phyllius, who after having oppoſed the enemy for a conſiderable time, and killed, with his own hand, all thoſe who attempted to force a paſſage where he fought; finding himſelf, at laſt, faint with the many wounds he had reeeived, and the large quantity of blood he had loſt, he ealled to one of the officers who commanded at that poſt, and after having reſigned his place to him, he retired a few paees, and fell down dead amidſt his countrymen, that the enemy might not be maſters of his body.

Night obliged both parties to diſcontinue the engagement: but the next morning it was renewed by break of day. The Lacedæmonians defended themſelves with new efforts of ardour and bravery, and even the women would not forſake them, but were always at hand to furniſh arms and refreſhments to ſuch as wanted them, and alſo to aſſiſt in carrying off the wounded.

The

The Macedonians were indefatigable in their endeavours to fill up the ditch with vaſt quantities of wood, and other materials, which they threw upon the arms and dead bodies; and the Lacedæmonians redoubled their ardour to prevent their effecting that deſign.

But while the latter were thus employed, Pyrrhus had forced himſelf a paſſage at the place where the chariots had been diſpoſed, and puſhed forwards full ſpeed to the city. Thoſe who defended this poſt, ſet up loud cries, which were anſwered by diſmal ſhrieks from the women, who ran from place to place in the utmoſt conſternation. Pyrrhus ſtill advanced, and bore down all who oppoſed him. He was now within a ſmall diſtance of that city, when a ſhaft from a Cretan bow pierced his horſe, and made him ſo furious, that he ran with his maſter into the very midſt of the enemy, and fell dead with him to the ground. Whilſt his friends crowded about him, to extricate him from the danger he was in, the Spartans advanced in great numbers, and, with their arrows, repulſed the Macedonians beyond the trench.

Pyrrhus then cauſed a general retreat to be ſounded, in expectation that the Lacedæmonians, who had loſt a great number of men, and were moſt of them wounded, would be inclined to ſurrender the city, which was then reduced to the laſt extremity, and ſeemed incapable of ſuſtaining a new attack: but at the very inſtant when every thing ſeemed deſperate, one of the generals of Antigonus arrived from Corinth, with a very conſiderable body of foreign troops; which had ſcarce entered the city before king Areus appeared with 2000 foot, which he had brought from Crete.

Theſe two reinforcements, which the Lacedæmonians received the ſame day, did but animate Pyrrhus, and add new ardour to his ambition. He was ſenſible, that it would be more glorious for him to take the city in ſpite of its new defenders, and in the very ſight of its king; but, after he had made ſome attempts to that effect, and was convinced that he would gain nothing but wounds, he deſiſted from his enterpriſe, and began to ravage the country, with an intention to paſs the winter there; but he was diverted from this deſign by a new ray of hope, which ſoon drew him off to another quarter.

* Ariſtæus and Ariſtippus, two of the principal citizens of Argos, had excited a great ſedition in that city. The latter of

* A. M. 3733. Ant. J. C. 271. Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 403—406. Paul. l. i. p. 24. Juſtin. l. xxv. c. 5.

theſe

theſe was deſirous of ſupporting himſelf, by the favour and protection of Antigonus; and Ariſtæus, in order to fruſtrate his deſign, immediately invited Pyrrhus to eſpouſe his party. The king of Epirus, always fond of new motions, conſidered his victories as ſo many ſteps to greater advantages; and thought his defeats furniſhed him with indiſpenſable reaſons for entering upon a new war, to repair his loſſes. Neither good nor ill ſucceſs, therefore, could inſpire him with a diſpoſition for tranquillity; for which reaſon he had no ſooner given audience to the courier of Ariſtæus, than he began his march to Argos. King Areus formed ſeveral ambuſcades to deſtroy him by the way, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the moſt difficult paſſes, cut to pieces the Gauls and Moloſſians, who formed his rear guard. Ptolemy, who had been detached by Pyrrhus, his father, to ſuccour that guard, was killed in the engagement, upon which his troops diſbanded and fled. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, commanded by Evalcus, an officer of great reputation, purſued them with ſo much ardour, that he inſenſibly advanced to a great diſtance from his infantry, who were incapable of keeping up with him.

Pyrrhus being informed of his ſon's death, which affected him with the ſharpeſt ſorrow, immediately led up the Moloſſian cavalry againſt the purſuers; and throwing himſelf among their thickeſt troops, made ſuch a ſlaughter of the Lacedæmonians, as in a moment covered him with blood. He was always intrepid and terrible in battles; but on this occaſion, when grief and revenge gave a new edge to his courage, he even ſurpaſſed himſelf, and effaced the luſtre of his conduct in all former battles, by the ſuperior valour and intrepidity which he now diſplayed. He continually fought Evalcus in the throng, and having at laſt ſingled him out, he ſpurred his horſe againſt him, and ſtruck him through with his javelin, after having been in great danger himſelf. He then ſprung from his horſe, and made a terrible ſlaughter of the Lacedæmonians, whom he overthrew in heaps upon the dead body of Evalcus. This loſs of the braveſt officers and troops of Sparta proceeded altogether from the temerity of thoſe, who, after they had gained a complete victory, ſuffered it to be wreſted out of their hands, by purſuing thoſe who fled with a blind and imprudent eagerneſs.

Pyrrhus, having thus celebrated the funeral ſolemnities of Ptolemy by this great battle, and mitigated his affliction in ſome meaſure, by ſatiating his rage and vengeance in the blood of thoſe who had ſlain his ſon, continued his march to Argos, and upon his arrival there, was informed that Antigonus poſſeſſed

the

the heights upon the borders of the plain. He then formed his camp near the city of Nauplia, and sent a herald the next morning to Antigonus, with an offer to decide their quarrel by a single combat; but Antigonus contented himself with replying, "That if Pyrrhus was grown weary of life, there were "abundance of methods for putting an end to it."

The inhabitants of Argos dispatched ambassadors, at the same time, to both these princes, to entreat them to withdraw their troops, and not reduce their city into subjection to either of them, but allow it to continue in a state of friendship with both. Antigonus readily consented to this proposal, and sent his son as an hostage to the Argives. Pyrrhus also promised to retire; but as he offered no security for the performance of his word, they began to suspect his sincerity, and indeed with sufficient reason.

As soon as night appeared, he advanced to the walls, and having found a door left open by Aristæus, he had time to pour his Gauls into the city, and to seize it without being perceived. But when he would have introduced his elephants, he found the gate too low; which obliged him to cause the towers to be taken down from their backs, and replaced there when those animals had entered the city. All this could not be effected, amidst the darkness, without much trouble, noise, and confusion, and without a considerable loss of time, which caused them to be discovered. The Argives, when they beheld the enemy in their city, fled to the citadel, and to those places that were most advantageous for their defence, and sent a deputation to Antigonus, to press his speedy advance to their assistance. He accordingly marched that moment, and caused his son, with the other officers, to enter the city at the head of his best troops.

In this very juncture of time, king Areus also arrived at Argos, with 1000 Cretans, and as many Spartans as were capable of coming. These troops, when they had all joined each other, charged the Gauls with the utmost fury, and put them into disorder. Pyrrhus hastened, on his part, to sustain them; but the darkness and confusion were then so great, that it was impossible for him to be either heard or obeyed. When day appeared, he was not a little surprised to see the citadel filled with enemies; and as he then imagined all was lost, he thought of nothing but a timely retreat. But as he had some apprehensions, with respect to the city gates, which were much too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, whom he had left without with the greatest part of the army, to demolish part of the wall, that his troops might have a free passage out of the

city. The perſon to whom Pyrrhus gave this order, in great haſte, having miſunderſtood his meaning, delivered a quite contrary meſſage, in conſequence of which, Helenus immediately drew out his beſt infantry, with all the elephants he had left, and then advanced into the city to aſſiſt his father, who was preparing to retire the moment the other entered the place.

Pyrrhus, as long as the place afforded him a ſufficient extent of ground, appeared with a reſolute mien, and frequently faced about and repulſed thoſe who purſued him; but when he found himſelf engaged in a narrow ſtreet, which ended at the gate, the confuſion, which already was very great, became infinitely increaſed, by the arrival of the troops his ſon brought to his aſſiſtance. He frequently called aloud to them to withdraw, in order to clear the ſtreet, but in vain, for as it was impoſſible for his voice to be heard, they ſtill continued to advance: and to complete the calamity in which they were involved, one of the largeſt elephants ſunk down in the middle of the gate, and filled up the whole extent in ſuch a manner, that the troops could neither advance nor retire. The confuſion occaſioned by this accident became then inexpreſſible.

Pyrrhus obſerving the diſorder of his men, who broke forward and were driven back, like the waves of the ſea, took off the glittering creſt, which diſtinguiſhed his helmet, and cauſed him to be known, and then, confiding in the goodneſs of his horſe, he ſprung into the throng of his enemies who purſued him; and while he was fighting with an air of deſperation, one of the adverſe party advanced up to him, and pierced his cuiraſs with a javelin. The wound, however, was neither great nor dangerous, and Pyrrhus immediately turned upon the man from whom he received it, and who happened to be only a private ſoldier, the ſon of a poor woman of Argos. The mother beheld the combat from the top of a houſe, where ſhe ſtood with ſeveral other women.

The moment ſhe ſaw her ſon engaged with Pyrrhus, ſhe almoſt loſt her ſenſes, and was chilled with horror at the danger to which ſhe beheld him expoſed. Amidſt the impreſſions of her agony, ſhe caught up a large tile, and threw it down upon Pyrrhus. The maſs fell directly upon his head, and his helmet being too weak to ward off the blow, his eyes were immediately covered with darkneſs, his hands dropped the reins, and he ſunk down from his horſe without being then obſerved. But he was ſoon diſcovered by a ſoldier, who put an end to his life, by cutting off his head.

The noiſe of this accident was immediately ſpread in all parts.

Alcyonæus,

Alcyonæus, the ſon of Antigonus, took the head from the ſoldier, and rode away with it full ſpeed to his father, at whoſe feet he threw it, but met with a very ill reception for acting in a manner ſo unbecoming his rank. Antigonus, recollecting the fate of his grandfather Antigonus, and that of Demetrius his father, could not refrain from tears at ſo mournful a ſpectacle, and cauſed magnificent honours to be rendered to the remains of Pyrrhus. After having made himſelf maſter of his camp and army, he treated his ſon Helenus, and the reſt of his friends, with great generoſity, and ſent them back to Epirus.

The title of a great captain is juſtly due to Pyrrhus, as he was ſo particularly eſteemed by the Romans themſelves; and eſpecially if we conſider the glorious teſtimony given in his favour, by a perſon the moſt worthy of belief, with regard to the merit of a warrior, and the beſt qualified to form a competent judgment in that particular. * Livy reports from an hiſtorian, whom he cites as his voucher, that Hannibal, when he was aſked by Scipio, whom he thought the moſt able and conſummate general, placed Alexander in the firſt rank, Pyrrhus in the ſecond, and himſelf in the third.

The ſame general alſo characteriſed Pyrrhus, by adding, "That he was the firſt who taught the art of encamping; that "no one was more ſkilful in chooſing his poſts, and drawing up "his troops: that he had a peculiar art in conciliating affection, "and attaching people to his intereſt; and this to ſuch a degree, "that the people of Italy were more deſirous of having him for "their maſter, though a ſtranger, than to be governed by the Ro- "mans themſelves, who for ſo many years had held the firſt rank "in that country."

Pyrrhus might poſſibly be maſter of all theſe great qualities; but I cannot comprehend, why Hannibal ſhould repreſent him as the firſt who taught the art of encamping. Were not ſeveral Grecian kings and generals maſters of this art before him? The Romans, indeed, learned it from him, and Hannibal's evidence extends no farther. However, theſe extraordinary qualities alone are not ſufficient to conſtitute a great commander, and even proved ineffectual to him on ſeveral occaſions. He was defeated by the Romans near Aſculum, merely from having choſen his ground ill. He failed in his attempt on Sparta, by deferring the attack for a few hours. He loſt Sicily by his injudicious treatment of the people, and was himſelf killed at Argos, for venturing too raſhly into an enemy's city. We might

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 14.

alſo enumerate a variety of other errors committed by him, with reference even to military affairs.

Is it not entirely inconſiſtent with the rank and duty of a great general, and eſpecially of a king, to be always expoſing his perſon, without the leaſt precaution, like a common ſoldier; to charge in the foremoſt ranks, like a common adventurer; to be more vain of a perſonal action, which only ſhows ſtrength and intrepidity, than a wiſe and attentive conduct, ſo eſſential to a general vigilant for the general ſafety, who never confounds his own merit and functions with thoſe of a private ſoldier? We may even obſerve the ſame defects to have been very apparent, in the kings and generals of this age, who undoubtedly were led into it by the falſe luſtre of Alexander's ſucceſsful temerity.

May it not be alſo ſaid, that Pyrrhus was deficient, in not obſerving any rule in his military enterpriſes, and in plunging blindly into wars, without reflection, without cauſe, through temperament, paſſion, habit, and mere incapacity to continue in a ſtate of tranquillity, or paſs any part of his time to his ſatisfaction, unleſs he were tilting with all the world? The reader will, I hope, forgive me the oddneſs of that expreſſion, ſince a character of this nature ſeems, in my opinion, very much to reſemble that of the heroes and knights errant of romances.

But no fault is more obvious in Pyrrhus' character, nor muſt have ſhocked my readers more, than his forming his enterpriſes without the leaſt maturity of thought, and abandoning himſelf, without examination, to the leaſt appearances of ſucceſs; frequently changing his views, on ſuch ſlender occaſions, as diſcover no conſiſtency of deſign, and even little judgment; in a word, beginning every thing, and ending nothing. His whole life was a continued ſeries of uncertainty and variation; and while he ſuffered his reſtleſs and impetuous ambition to hurry him, at different times, into Sicily, Italy, Macedonia, and Greece, his cares and attention were employed no where ſo little as in Epirus, the land of his nativity, and his hereditary dominions. Let us then allow him the title of a great captain, if valour and intrepidity alone are ſufficient to deſerve it; for in theſe qualities no man was his ſuperior. When we behold him in his battles, we think ourſelves ſpectators of the vivacity, intrepidity, and martial ardour of Alexander; but he certainly had not the qualities of a good king, who, when he really loves his people, makes his valour conſiſt in their defence, his happineſs in making them happy, and his glory in their peace and ſecurity.

The

* The reputation of the Romans beginning now to spread through foreign nations, by the war they had maintained for six years against Pyrrhus, whom at length they compelled to retire from Italy, and return ignominiously to Epirus †, Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to desire their friendship; and the Romans were charmed to find it solicited by so great a king.

† An embassy was also sent from Rome to Egypt the following year, in return to the civilities of Ptolemy. The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius, his brother, and Q. Ogulnius. The disinterested air with which they appeared, sufficiently indicated the greatness of their souls. Ptolemy gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to present each of them with a crown of gold; which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by declining the honour he intended them; but they went the next morning, and placed them on the heads of the king's statues erected in the public parts of the city. The king having likewise tendered them very considerable presents, at their audience of leave, they received them as they before accepted of the crowns; but before they went to the senate, to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all those presents in the public treasury, and made it evident, by so noble a conduct, that persons of honour ought, when they serve the public, to propose no other advantage to themselves, than the honour of acquitting themselves well of their duty. The republic, however, would not suffer itself to be exceeded in generosity of sentiments. The senate and people came to a resolution, that the ambassadors, in consideration of the services they had rendered the state, should receive a sum of money equivalent to that they had deposited in the public treasury. This, indeed, was an amiable contest between generosity and glory, and one is at a loss to know, to which of the antagonists to ascribe the victory. Where shall we now find men who devote themselves, in such a manner, to the public good, without any interested expectations of a return; and who enter upon employments in the state, without the least view of enriching themselves? But let me add too, where shall we find states and princes, who knew how to esteem and recompence merit in this manner? We may observe here, says an historian §, three

* A. M. 3730. Ant. J. C. 274. † Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii.
‡ A. M. 3731. Ant. J. C. 273. Liv. Epit. l. iv. Eutrop. l. ii. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Dion. in Excerp.
§ Valerius Maximus.

fine models ſet before us, in the noble liberality of Ptolemy, the diſintereſted ſpirit of the ambaſſadors, and the grateful equity of the Romans.

SECTION VIII.

ATHENS TAKEN BY ANTIGONUS.—PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS IMPROVES COMMERCE.—HIS DEATH.

THE Greeks, after they had been ſubjected by the Macedonians, and rendered dependent on their authority, ſeemed, by loſing their liberty, to have been alſo diveſted of that courage, and greatneſs of ſoul, by which they had been till then ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed from other people. They appeared entirely changed, and to have loſt all ſimilitude to their ancient character. Sparta, that was once ſo bold and imperious, and in a manner poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty of all Greece, patiently bowed down her neck, at laſt, beneath a foreign yoke; and we ſhall ſoon behold her ſubjected to domeſtic tyrants, who will treat her with the utmoſt cruelty. We ſhall ſee Athens, once ſo jealous of her liberty, and ſo formidable to the moſt powerful kings, running headlong into ſlavery, and, as ſhe changes her maſters, ſucceſſively paying them the homage of the baſeſt and moſt abject adulation. Each of theſe cities will, from time to time, make ſome efforts to reinſtate themſelves in their ancient liberties, but impetuouſly, and without ſucceſs.

* Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedonia, became very powerful, ſome years after the death of Pyrrhus, and thereby formidable to the ſtates of Greece: the Lacedæmonians, therefore, entered into a league with the Athenians againſt him, and engaged Ptolemy Philadelphus to accede to it. Antigonus, in order to fruſtrate the confederacy which theſe two ſtates had formed againſt him, and to prevent the conſequences that might reſult from it, immediately began hoſtilities with the ſiege of Athens; but Ptolemy ſoon ſent a fleet thither, under the command of Patroclus, one of his generals; while Areus, king of Lacedæmon, put himſelf at the head of an army to ſuccour that city by land. Patroclus, as ſoon as he arrived before the place, adviſed Areus to attack the enemy, and promiſed to make a deſcent, at the ſame time, in order to aſſault them in the rear. This council was very judicious, and could not have failed of ſucceſs, had it been carried into execution; but Areus, who

* A. M. 3736. Ant. J. C. 268. Juſtin. l. xxvi. c. 2. Pauſan. in Lacon. p. 168. et in Attic. p. 1.

wanted

wanted provisions for his troops, thought it more advisable to return to Sparta. The fleet, therefore, being incapable of acting alone, sailed back to Egypt, without doing any thing. This is the usual inconvenience to which troops of different nations are exposed, when they are commanded by chiefs who have neither any subordination, nor good intelligence, between them. Athens, thus abandoned by her allies, became a prey to Antigonus, who put a garrison into it.

* Patroclus happened, in his return, to stop at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, where he met with Sotades, a poet universally decried for the unbounded licence, both of his muse, and his manners. His satiric poetry never spared either his best friends, or the most worthy persons; and, even the sacred characters of kings were not exempted from his malignity. When he was at the court of Lysimachus, he affected to blacken the reputation of Ptolemy by atrocious calumny; and when he was entertained by this latter, he traduced Lysimachus in the same manner. He had composed a virulent satire against Ptolemy, wherein he inserted many cutting reflections on his marriage with Arsinoe, his own sister; he afterwards fled from Alexandria, to save himself from the resentment of that prince. Patroclus thought it his duty to make an example of a wretch who had affronted his master in such an insolent manner; he accordingly caused a weight of lead to be fastened to his body, and then ordered him to be thrown into the sea. The generality of poets, who profess satire, are a dangerous and detestable race of men, who have renounced all probity and shame, and whose quill, dipped in the bitterest gall, respects neither rank nor virtue.

† The affairs of Ptolemy were greatly perplexed by a revolt excited in Egypt, by a prince from whom he never suspected any such treatment. Magus, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy, his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and he were brothers by the same mother; for the latter was the son of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her husband before she was espoused to Ptolemy Soter. Her solicitations, therefore, obtained for him this government, when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas, as I have former-

* A. M. 3737. Ant. J. C. 267. Athen. l. xiv. p. 620, 621.
† A. M. 3739. Ant. J. C. 265. Pausan. in Att. p. 12, 13.

ly

ly obſerved. Magus had ſo well eſtabliſhed himſelf in his government, by long poſſeſſion, and by his marriage with Apamia, the daughter of Anticchus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himſelf independent; and as ambition is a boundleſs paſſion, his pretenſions roſe ſtill higher. He was not contented with wreſting from his brother the two provinces he governed, but formed a reſolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt, at the head of a great army, and, in his march towards Alexandria, made himſelf maſter of Paretonion, a city of Marmorica.

The intelligence he received of the revolt of the Marmarides in Libya, prevented him from proceeding any farther in this expedition; and he immediately returned to regulate the diſorders in his provinces. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and entirely defeating his troops; but a new danger called him to another quarter. He detected a conſpiracy which had been formed againſt him, by 4000 Gauls, whom he had taken into his pay, and who intended no leſs than to drive him out of Egypt, and ſeize it for themſelves. In order, therefore, to fruſtrate their deſign, he found himſelf obliged to return to Egypt, where he drew the conſpirators into an iſland in the Nile, and ſhut them up ſo effectually there, that they all periſhed by famine, except thoſe who choſe rather to deſtroy one another, than languiſh out their lives in that miſerable manner.

* Magus, as ſoon as he had calmed the troubles which occaſioned his return, renewed his deſigns on Egypt, and, in order to ſucceed more effectually, engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan: it was then reſolved, that Antiochus ſhould attack Ptolemy on one ſide, while Magus invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who had ſecret intelligence of his treaty, prevented Antiochus in his deſign, and gave him ſo much employment in all his maritime provinces, by repeated deſcents, and the devaſtations made by the troops he ſent into thoſe parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions, to concert meaſures for their defence; and Magus, who expected a diverſion to be made in his favour by Antiochus, thought it not adviſeable to enter upon any action, when he perceived his ally had not made the effort on which he depended.

* A. M. 3740. Ant. J. C. 264.

Philetærus,

Phileteres, who founded the kingdom of Pergamus, died the following year, at the age of 80. He was an eunuch, and originally a servant of Docimus, an officer in the army of Antigonus; who having quitted that prince, to enter into the service of Lysimachus, was soon followed by Phileteres. Lysimachus, finding him a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and intrusted him with the government of the city of Pergamus, in which his treasures were deposited. He served Lysimachus very faithfully in this post several years: but his attachment to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lysimachus, who was destroyed by the intrigues of Arsinoe the younger daughter of Ptolemy Soter, as I have formerly related; and the affliction he testified at the tragical death of that prince, caused him to be suspected by the young queen; and she accordingly took measures to destroy him. Phileteres, who was sensible of her intentions, resolved upon a revolt, and succeeded in his design, by the protection of Seleucus; after which he supported himself in the possession of the city and treasures of Lysimachus; favoured in his views by the troubles which arose upon the death of that prince, and that of Seleucus, which happened seven months after. He conducted his affairs with so much art and capacity, amidst all the divisions of the successors of those two princes, that he preserved the city, with all the country around it, for the space of 20 years, and formed it into a state, which subsisted for several generations in his family, and became one of the most potent states of Asia. He had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, the former of whom, who was the eldest, had a son named also Eumenes, who succeeded his uncle, and reigned 22 years.

In this year began the first Punic war, which continued for the space of 24 years, between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

* Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having built a city near the place where Astacus, which Lysimachus destroyed, had formerly stood, called it Nicomedia, from his own name. Great mention is made of it in the history of the lower empire, because several of the Roman emperors resided there.

Antiochus Soter was desirous to improve the death of Phileteres to his own advantage, and take that opportunity to seize

* A. M. 3741. Ant. J. C. 263. Strab. l. xiii. p. 623, 624. Pausan. in Att. p. 13. et 18.

† A. M. 3742. Ant. J. C. 262. Pausan. Eliac. I. p. 405. Eusеb. in Chron. Trebell. Pollio. in Gallien. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. c. 2. Memn. c. 21. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

his

his dominions; but Eumenes, his nephew and ſucceſſor, raiſed a fine army for his defence, and obtained ſuch a complete victory over him near Sardis, as not only ſecured him the poſſeſſion of what he already enjoyed, but enabled him to enlarge his dominions conſiderably.

* Antiochus returned to Antioch after this defeat, where he ordered † one of his ſons to be put to death, for raiſing a commotion in his abſence, and cauſed the other, whoſe name was the ſame as his own, to be proclaimed king; ſhortly after which he died, and left him all his dominions. This young prince was his ſon by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who, from his mother-in-law, became his conſort, as I have formerly obſerved.

‡ Antiochus the ſon, when he came to the crown, was eſpouſed to Laodice, his ſiſter by the father. He afterward aſſumed the ſurname of Theos, which ſignifies God, and diſtinguiſhes him, at this day, from the other kings of Syria, who were called by the name of Antiochus. The Mileſians were the firſt who conferred it upon him to teſtify their gratitude for his delivering them from the tyranny of Timarchus, govenor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was not only maſter of Egypt, but Cœloſyria, and Paleſtine, with the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, in Aſia Minor. Timarchus revolted from his ſovereign, and choſe Miletus for the ſeat of his reſidence. The Mileſians, in order to free themſelves from this tyrant, had recourſe to Antiochus, who defeated and killed him; in acknowledgment for which they rendered him divine honours, and even conferred upon him the title of God. With ſuch impious flattery was it uſual to treat the reigning princes of thoſe ages! § The Lemnians had likewiſe beſtowed the ſame title on his father and grandfather, and did not ſcruple to erect temples to their honour; and the people of Smyrna were altogether as obſequious to his mother Stratonice.

‖ Beroſus, the famous hiſtorian of Babylon, flouriſhed in the beginning of this prince's reign, and dedicated his hiſtory to him. Pliny informs us, that it contained the aſtronomical ob-

* A. M. 3743. Ant. J. C. 261. Trog. in. Prologo. l. xxvi.

† Mr. La Nauze affirms, that there is an error in this abridgment of Trogus Pompeius. The reader may conſult Tome VII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions.

‡ A. M. 3744. Ant. J. C. 260. Polyæn. Stratag. l. xviii. c. 50. Appian. in Syriac. p. 230. Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

§ Athen. l. xvii. p. 255.

‖ Tatian. in Orat. con. Græc. p. 171. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Vitruv. 9. 7.

ſervations

ſervations of 480 years. When the Macedonians were maſters of Babylon, Beroſus made himſelf acquainted with their language, and went firſt to Cos, which had been rendered famous by the birth of Hippocrates, and there eſtabliſhed a ſchool, in in which he taught aſtronomy and aſtrology. From Cos he proceeded to Athens, where, notwithſtanding the vanity of his art, he acquired ſo much reputation by his aſtrological predictions, that the citizens erected a ſtatue to him, with a tongue of gold *, in the Gymnaſium, where the youths performed all their exerciſe. Joſephus and Euſebius have tranſmitted to us ſome excellent fragments of this hiſtory, that illuſtrate ſeveral paſſages in the Old Teſtament, and without which it would be impoſſible to trace any exact ſucceſſion of the kings of Babylon.

† Ptolemy being ſolicitous to enrich his kingdom, conceived an expedient to draw into it all the maritime commerce of the Eaſt; which, till then, had been in the poſſeſſion of the Tyrians, who tranſacted it by ſea, as far as Elath; and from thence, by land, to Rhinocorura, and from this laſt place, by ſea again, to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura were two ſea-ports; the firſt on the eaſtern ſhore of the Red-ſea, and the ſecond on the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Paleſtine, and near the mouths of the river of Egypt.

‡ Ptolemy, in order to draw this commerce into his own kingdom, thought it neceſſary to found a city on the weſtern ſhore of the Red ſea, from whence the ſhips were to ſet out. He accordingly built it, almoſt on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and gave it the name of his mother Berenice; but the port not being very commodious, that of Myos-Hormos was preferred, as being very near, and much better: and all the commodities of Arabia, India, Perſia, and Ethiopia, were conveyed thither. From thence they were tranſported on camels to Coptus, where they were again ſhipped, and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which tranſmitted them to all the Weſt, in exchange for its merchandiſe, which was afterwards exported to the Eaſt. But as the paſſage from Coptus to the Red ſea lay acroſs the deſerts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houſes to lodge the caravans, Ptolemy, in order to remedy this inconvenience, cauſed a canal to be opened along the great road, and to communicate with the Nile that ſupplied it with water. On the edge of this canal houſes were erected, at proper diſtances, for the reception of paſſengers, and to ſupply

* Plin. 737. † A. M. 3745. Ant. J. C. 259.
‡ Strab. l. xvii. p. 815. Plin. l. vi. c. 23.

them

them and their beasts of burden with all necessary accommodations.

As useful as all these labours were, Ptolemy did not think them sufficient; for, as he intended to engross all the traffic between the East and West to his dominions, he thought his plan would be imperfect, unless he could protect what he had facilitated in other respects. With this view, he caused two fleets to be fitted out, one for the Red sea, and the other for the Mediterranean. * This last was extremely fine, and some of the vessels which composed it, much exceeded the common size. Two of them, in particular, had 30 benches of oars; one 20; four rowed with 14; two with 12; 14 with 11; 30 with nine; 37 with seven; five with six; and 17 with five. The number of the whole amounted to 112 vessels. He had as many more, with four and three benches of oars, beside a prodigious number of small vessels. With this formidable fleet he not only protected his commerce from all insults, but kept in subjection, as long as he lived, most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as Cilicia, for instance, with Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.

† Magus, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing very aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Egypt; and a promise to give her all his dominions for her dowry. The negociation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on those terms.

‡ Magus, however, died before the execution of the treaty, having continued in the government of Libya and Cyrenaica for the space of 50 years. Toward the close of his days, he abandoned himself to pleasure, and particularly to excess at his table, which greatly impaired his health. His widow Apamia, whom Justin calls Arsinoe, resolved, after his death, to break off her daughter's marriage with the son of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded without her consent. With this view, she employed persons in Macedonia to invite Demetrius, the uncle of king Antigonus Gonatus, to come to her court, assuring him, at the same time, that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius arrived there in a short time, but as soon as Apamia beheld him, she contracted a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. From that moment he neglected the

* Theocrit. Idyll. xvii. Athen. l. v. p. 203.

† A. M. 3746. Ant. J. C. 258.

‡ A. M. 3747. Ant. J. C. 257. Athen. l. xii. p. 550. Justin. l. xxvi. c. 3.

daughter,

daughter, to engage himself to the mother; and as he imagined that her favour raised him above all things, he began to treat the young princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in such an insolent and imperious manner, that they formed a resolution to destroy him. Berenice herself conducted the conspirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they stabbed him in his bed, though Apamia employed all her efforts to save him, and even covered him with her own body. Berenice, after this, went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was consummated, and Apamia was sent to her brother Antiochus Theos in Syria.

* The princess had the art to exasperate her brother so effectually against Ptolemy, that she at last spirited him up to a war, which continued for a long space of time, and was productive of fatal consequences to Antiochus, as will be evident in the sequel.

† Ptolemy did not place himself at the head of his army, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for which reason he left the war to the conduct of his generals. Antiochus, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field at the head of all the forces of Babylon and the East, and with a resolution to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. History has not preserved the particulars of what passed in that campaign, or perhaps the advantages obtained on either side were not very considerable.

‡ Ptolemy did not forget to improve his library, notwithstanding the war, and continually enriched it with new books. He was exceedingly curious in pictures and designs by great masters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for him in Greece; and he had the good fortune to gratify the taste of that prince for those works of art to such a degree, that Ptolemy entertained a friendship for him, and presented him with 25 talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and in the redemption of such of them as were detained in captivity.

§ While Antiochus was employed in his war with Egypt, a great insurrection was fomented in the East, and which his remoteness at that time rendered him incapable of preventing with

* A. M. 3748. Ant. J. C. 256. Hieron. in Daniel.
† A. M. 3749. Ant. J. C. 255. Strab. l. xvii. p. 789. Hieron. in Daniel.
‡ A. M. 3750. Ant. J. C. 254. Plut. in Arat. p. 1031.
§ A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250.

the neceſſary expedition. The revolt, therefore, daily gathered ſtrength, till it at laſt became incapable of remedy. Theſe troubles gave birth to the Parthian empire.

* The cauſe of theſe commotions proceeded from Agathocles, governor of the Parthian dominions for Antiochus. This officer attempted to offer violence to a youth of the country, whoſe name was Tiridates; upon which Arſaces, the brother of the boy, a perſon of low extraction, but great courage and honour, aſſembled ſome of his friends, in order to deliver his brother from the brutality intended him. They accordingly fell upon the governor, killed him on the ſpot, and then fled for ſafety with ſeveral perſons whom they had drawn together for their defence againſt the purſuit to which ſuch a bold proceeding would inevitably expoſe them. Their party grew ſo numerous, by the negligence of Antiochus, that Arſaces ſoon found himſelf ſtrong enough to drive the Macedonians out of that province, and aſſume the government himſelf. The Macedonians had always continued maſters of it, from the death of Alexander; firſt, under Eumenes, then under Antigonus, next under Seleucus Nicator, and laſtly under Antiochus.

† Much about the ſame time, Theodotus alſo revolted in Bactriana, and, from a governor, became king of that province; after which he ſubjected the thouſand cities it contained, while Antiochus was amuſing himſelf with the Egyptian war, and ſtrengthened himſelf ſo effectually in his new acquiſitions, that it became impoſſible to reduce him afterwards. This example was followed by all the other nations in thoſe parts, each of whom threw off the yoke at the ſame time; by which means Antiochus loſt all the eaſtern provinces of his empire beyond the Tigris. This event happened, according to Juſtin, when L. Manlius Vulſo, and ‡ M. Atilius Regulus, were conſuls at Rome; that is to ſay, the 14th year of the firſt Punic war.

§ The troubles and revolts in the Eaſt made Antiochus at laſt deſirous to diſengage himſelf from the war with Ptolemy. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them; and the conditions of it were, that Antiochus ſhould divorce Laodice, and eſpouſe Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; that he ſhould alſo diſinherit his iſſue by the firſt marriage, and ſecure the crown to his children by the ſecond. Antiochus, af-

* Arrian. in Parth. apud Phot. Cod. 58. Syncell. p. 284. Juſtin. l. xli. c. 4. Strab. l. xi. p. 515.

† Juſtin. et Strab. Ibid.

‡ In all facts he is called C. Atilius.

§ A. M. 3755. Ant. J. C. 249. Hieron. in Dan. x. Polyæn. Strab. l. viii. c. 50. Athen. l. ii. p. 45.

ter

ter the ratification of the treaty, repudiated Laodice, though she was his sister by the father's side, and had brought him two sons: Ptolemy then embarked at Pelusium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria. Antiochus came thither to receive his bride, and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence. Ptolemy had a tender affection for his daughter, and gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile transmitted to her; believing it better for her health than any other water whatever, and therefore he was desirous she should drink none but that. When marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamitous and fatal events.

These particulars of the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy were evidently foretold by the prophet Daniel. I shall here repeat the beginning of this prophecy, which has already been explained elsewhere, that the reader may at once behold and admire the prediction of the greatest events in history, and their literal accomplishment at the appointed time.

"* I will now show thee the truth." These words were spoken to Daniel on the part of God, by the man clothed in linen. "Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Per-"sia;" namely, Cyrus, who was then upon his throne; his son Cambyses; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes. "And the "fourth shall be far richer than they all: And by his strength "through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of "Greece." The monarch here meant was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a very formidable army.

"† And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with "great dominion, and do according to his will." In this part of the prophecy we may easily trace Alexander the Great.

"‡ And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken," by his death, "and shall be divided towards the four "winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to "his dominion which he ruled, for his kingdom shall be pluck-"ed up, even for others beside those;" namely, beside the four greater princes. We have already seen the vast empire of Alexander § parcelled out into four great kingdoms, without

* Dan chap. xi. ver. 2. † Ibid. 3. ‡ Ver. 4.

§ Tum maximum in terris Macedonium regnum nomenque, inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus. Liv. l. xlv. n. 9.

including thoſe foreign princes who founded other kingdoms in Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, Heraclea, and on the Boſphorus. All this was preſent to Daniel.

The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage we have already mentioned.

" * The king of the South ſhall be ſtrong, and one of his " princes, and he ſhall be ſtrong above him, and have dominion: " His dominion ſhall be a great dominion. And in the end of " years they ſhall join themſelves together; for the king's " daughter of the South ſhall come to the king of the North to " make an agreement: but he ſhall not retain the power of the " arm, neither ſhall he ſtand, nor his arm; but ſhe ſhall be given " up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he " that ſtrengthened her in theſe times."

It will be neceſſary to obſerve, that Daniel, in this paſſage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himſelf to the kings of Egypt and Syria, becauſe they were the only princes who engaged in wars againſt the people of God.

" † The king of the South ſhall be ſtrong." This " king of " the South" was Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, king of Egypt: and " the king of the North" was Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria. And indeed, ſuch was their exact ſituation with reſpect to Judæa, which has Syria to the North, and Egypt to the South.

According to Daniel, the king of Egypt, who firſt reigned in that country after the death of Alexander, was Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls " the king of the South," and declares, that " he ſhall be ſtrong." The exactneſs of this character is fully juſtified by what we have ſeen in this hiſtory: for he was maſter of Egypt, Libya, Cyrenaica, Arabia, Paleſtine, Cœloſyria, and moſt of the maritime provinces of Aſia Minor; with the iſland of Cyprus; as alſo ſeveral iſles in the Ægean ſea, which is now called the Archipelago; and even ſome cities of Greece, as Sicyone and Corinth.

‡ The prophet, after this, mentions another of the four ſucceſſors to this empire, whom he calls Princes, or Governors. This was Seleucus Nicator, " the king of the North;" of whom he declares, " that he ſhall be more powerful than the " king of the South, and his dominion more extenſive:" for this is the import of the prophet's expreſſion, " He ſhall be " ſtrong above him, and have dominion." It is eaſy to prove,

* Dan. xi. 5, 6. † Ver. 5. ‡ Ibid. 6.

that

that his territories were of greater extent than thoſe of the king of Egypt; for he was maſter of all the Eaſt, from mount Taurus to the river Indus; and alſo of ſeveral provinces in Aſia Minor, between mount Taurus and the Ægean ſea; to which he added Thrace and Macedonia a little before his death.

* Daniel then informs us, "that the daughter of the king of "the South came to the king of the North, and mentions the "treaty of peace, which was concluded on this occaſion between "the two kings." This evidently points out the marriage of Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, with Antigonus Theos, king of Syria, and the peace concluded between them in conſideration of this alliance; every circumſtance of which exactly happened according to the prediction before us. The ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhow us the fatal event of this marriage, which was alſo foretold by the prophet.

In the remaining part of the chapter, he relates the moſt remarkable events of future times, under theſe two races of kings, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great perſecutor of the Jewiſh nation. I ſhall be careful, as theſe events occur in the ſeries of this hiſtory, to apply the prophecy of Daniel to them, that the reader may obſerve the exact accompliſhment of each prediction.

In the mean time, I cannot but acknowledge in this place, with admiration, the divinity ſo viſible in the ſcriptures, which have related, in ſo particular a manner, a variety of ſingular and extraordinary facts, above 300 years before they were tranſacted. What an immenſe chain of events extends from the prophecy to the time of its accompliſhment! By the breaking of any ſingle link, the whole would be diſconcerted! With reſpect to the marriage alone, what hand, but that of the Almighty, could have conducted ſo many different views, intrigues, and paſſions, to the ſame point? What knowledge but this could with ſo much certainty, have foreſeen ſuch a number of diſtinct circumſtances, ſubject not only to the freedom of will, but even to the irregular impreſſions of caprice? And what man but muſt adore that ſovereign power which God exerciſes, in a ſecret certain manner, over kings and princes, whoſe very crimes he renders ſubſervient to the execution of his ſacred will, and the accompliſhment of his eternal decrees; in which all events, both general and particular, have their appointed time and place fixed beyond the poſſibility of failing, even thoſe which depend moſt on the choice and liberty of mankind?

* Dan. xi. ver. 6.

* As Ptolemy was curious, to an uncommon degree, in the ſtatues, deſigns, and pictures of excellent maſters, as he alſo was in books; he ſaw, during the time he continued in Syria, a ſtatue of Diana, in one of the temples, which ſuited his taſte exceedingly. Antigonus made him a preſent of it, at his requeſt, and he carried it into Egypt. Some time after his return Arſinoe was ſeized with an indiſpoſition, and dreamed that Diana had appeared to her, and acquainted her, that Ptolemy was the occaſion of her illneſs, by his having taken her ſtatue out of the temple where it was conſecrated to her divinity. Upon this, the ſtatue was ſent back, as ſoon as poſſible, to Syria, in order to be replaced in the proper temple. It was alſo accompanied with rich preſents to the goddeſs, and a variety of ſacrifices were offered up to appeaſe her diſpleaſure; but they were not ſucceeded by any favourable effect. The queen's diſtemper was ſo far from abating, that ſhe died in a ſhort time, and left Ptolemy inconſolable at her loſs; and more ſo, becauſe he imputed her death to his own indiſcretion, in removing the ſtatue of Diana out of the temple.

This paſſion for ſtatues, pictures, and other excellent curioſities of art, may be very commendable in a prince, and other great men, when indulged to a certain degree; but when a perſon abandons himſelf to it entirely, it degenerates into a dangerous temptation, and frequently prompts him to notorious injuſtice and violence. This is evident by what Cicero relates of Verres, who practiſed a kind of piracy in Sicily, where he was prætor, by ſtripping private houſes and temples of all their fineſt and moſt valuable curioſities. But though a perſon ſhould have no recourſe to ſuch baſe extremities, it is ſtill very ſhocking and offenſive, ſays Cicero, to ſay to a perſon of diſtinction, worth, and fortune, "Sell this picture, or that ſtatue †," ſince it is, in effect, declaring, "you are unworthy to have ſuch an "admirable piece in your poſſeſſion, which ſuits only a perſon "of my rank and taſte." I mention nothing of the enormous expences into which a man is drawn by this paſſion; for theſe exquiſite pieces have no price but what the deſire of poſſeſſing them ſets upon them, and that we know has no bounds‡.

* A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 148. Liban. Orat. xi.

† Superbum eſt et non ferendum, dicere prætorem in provincia homini honeſto, locupleti, ſplendido; vende mihi vaſa cœlata. Hoc eſt enim dicere: non es dignus tu, qui habeas quæ tam bene facta ſunt. Meæ dignitatis iſta ſunt. Cic. orat. de ſignis, n. 45.

‡ Et enim, qui modus eſt cupiditatis, idem eſt æſtimationis. Difficile eſt enim finem facere pretio, niſi libidini feceris. Id. n. 14.

Though

Though Arſinoe was older than Ptolemy, and too infirm to have any children, when he eſpouſed her; he however retained a conſtant and tender paſſion for her at the laſt, and rendered all imaginable honours to her memory after her death. He gave her name to ſeveral cities, which he cauſed to be built, and performed a number of other remarkable things, to teſtify how well he loved her.

* Nothing could be more extraordinary than the deſign he formed of erecting a temple to her at Alexandria, with a dome riſing above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant, in order to keep an iron ſtatue of that queen ſuſpended in the air. This plan of building was invented by Dinocrates, a famous architect in thoſe times; and the moment he propoſed it to Ptolemy, that prince gave orders for beginning the work without delay. The experiment, however, remained imperfect, for want of ſufficient time; for Ptolemy and the architect dying within a very ſhort time after this reſolution, the project was entirely diſcontinued. It has long been ſaid, and even believed, that the body of Mahomet was ſuſpended in this manner, in an iron coffin, by a loadſtone fixed in the vaulted roof of the chamber where his corpſe was depoſited after his death; but this is a mere vulgar error, without the leaſt foundation.

† Ptolemy Philadelphus ſurvived his beloved Arſinoe but a ſhort time. He was naturally of a tender conſtitution, and the ſoft manner of life he led, contributed to the decay of his health. The infirmities of old age, and his affliction for the loſs of a conſort whom he loved to adoration, brought upon him a languiſhing diſorder, which ended his days, in the 63d year of his age, and the 38th of his reign. ‡ He left two ſons and a daughter, whom he had by his firſt wife Arſinoe, the daughter of Lyſimachus, a different perſon from the laſt-mentioned queen of that name. His eldeſt ſon, Ptolemy Evergetes, ſucceeded him in the throne; the ſecond bore the name of Lyſimachus his grandfather by the mother, and was put to death by his brother for engaging in a rebellion againſt him. The name of the daughter was Berenice, whoſe marriage with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, has already been related.

* Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14.
† A. M. 3757. Ant. J. C. 247. Athen. l. xii. p. 10.

SECT.

SECTION IX.

CHARACTER AND QUALITIES OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus had certainly great and excellent qualities; and yet we cannot propose him as a perfect model of a good king, because those qualities were counterpoised by defects altogether as considerable. He dishonourned the first period of his reign, by his resentment against a man of uncommon merit, I mean Demetrius Phalereus, because he had given some advice to his father, contrary to the interest of Philadelphus, but entirely conformable to equity and natural right. His immense riches soon drew after them a train of luxury and effeminate pleasures, the usual concomitants of such high fortunes, which contributed not a little to emasculate his mind. He was not very industrious in cultivating the military virtues; but we must acknowledge, at the same time, that a remissness of this nature is not always a misfortune to a people.

He, however, made an ample compensation for this neglect, by his love of the arts and sciences, and his generosity to learned men. The fame of his liberalities invited several illustrious poets to his court, particularly Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus; the last of whom gives him very lofty praises in some of his Idyllia. We have already seen his extraordinary taste for books; and it is certain, that he spared no expence in the augmentation and embellishment of the library founded by his father, and from whence both those princes have derived as much glory as could have redounded to them from the greatest conquests. As Philadelphus had abundance of wit, and his happy genius had been carefully cultivated by great masters, he always retained a peculiar taste for the sciences, but in such a manner, as suited the dignity of a prince; as he never suffered them to engross his whole attention, but regulated his propensity to those grateful amusements, by prudence and moderation. In order to perpetuate this taste in his dominions, he erected public schools and academies at Alexandria, where they long flourished in great reputation. He loved to converse with men of learning; and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were emulous to obtain his favour, he extracted from each of them, if I may use the expression, the flower and quintessence of the sciences in which they excelled. This is the inestimable advantage which princes and great men possess; and happy are they when they know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, a thousand things, not only curious, but useful and important, with respect to government.

This

This intercourſe of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to place the arts in honour, may be conſidered as the ſource of thoſe meaſures he purſued, through the courſe of his long reign, to make commerce flouriſh in his dominions; and in which attempt no prince ever ſucceeded more effectually than himſelf. The greateſt expences, in this particular, could never diſcourage him from perſiſting in what he propoſed to accompliſh. We have already obſerved, that he built whole cities, in order to protect and facilitate his intended traffic; that he opened a very long canal through deſerts deſtitute of water; and maintained a very numerous and complete navy in each of the two ſeas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal point in view was to ſecure to ſtrangers all imaginable ſafety and freedom in his ports, without any impoſitions on trade, or the leaſt intention of turning it from its proper channel, in order to make it ſubſervient to his own particular intereſt; as he was perſuaded that commerce was like ſome other ſprings, that ſoon ceaſed to flow, when diverted from their natural courſe.

Theſe were views worthy of a great prince, and a conſummate politician, and their laſting effects were exceedingly beneficial to his kingdom. They have even continued to our days, ſtrengthened by the principles of their firſt eſtabliſhment, after a duration of above 2000 years; opening a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind, into all nations; drawing continually from them a return of voluntary contributions; uniting the eaſt and the weſt by the mutual ſupply of their reſpective wants; and eſtabliſhing on this baſis a commerce that has conſtantly ſupported itſelf from age to age without interruption. Thoſe great conquerors and celebrated heroes, whoſe merit has been ſo highly extolled, not to mention the ravages and deſolation they have occaſioned to mankind, have ſcarce left behind them any traces of the conqueſts and acquiſitions they have made for aggrandizing their empires; or, at leaſt, thoſe traces have not been durable, and the revolutions to which the moſt potent ſtates are obnoxious, diveſt them of their conqueſts in a ſhort time, and transfer them to others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt, eſtabliſhed thus by Philadelphus, inſtead of being ſhaken by time, has rather increaſed through a long ſucceſſion of ages, and become daily more uſeful and indiſpenſable to all nations. So that, when we trace it up to its ſource, we ſhall be ſenſible that this prince ought to be conſidered not only as the benefactor of Egypt, but of all mankind in general, to the lateſt poſterity.

What

What we have already obſerved, in the hiſtory of Philadelphus, with reſpect to the inclination of the neighbouring people to tranſplant themſelves in crowds into Egypt, preferring a reſidence in a foreign land to the natural affection of mankind for their native ſoil, is another glorious panegyric on this prince; as the moſt eſſential duty of kings, and the moſt grateful pleaſure they can poſſibly enjoy, amidſt the ſplendors of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, and to make their government deſirable. Ptolemy was ſenſible, as an able politician, that the only ſure expedient for extending his dominions, without any act of violence, was to multiply his ſubjects, and attach them to his government, by their intereſt and inclination; to cauſe the land to be cultivated in a better manner; to make arts and manufactures flouriſh; and to augment, by a thouſand judicious meaſures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whoſe real ſtrength conſiſts in the multitude of his ſubjects.

CHAPTER III.

THE third chapter comprehends the hiſtory of 25 years, including the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes.

SECTION I.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS IS POISONED BY HIS QUEEN LAODICE.—THE DEATH OF SELEUCUS.

As ſoon as Antiochus Theos had received intelligence of the death * of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, he divorced Berenice, and recalled Laodice and her children. This lady, who knew the variable diſpoſition and inconſtancy of Antiochus, and was apprehenſive that the ſame levity of mind would induce him to ſupplant her, by receiving Berenice again, reſolved to improve the preſent opportunity to ſecure the crown for her ſon. Her own children were diſinherited by the treaty made with Ptolemy; by which it was alſo ſtipulated, that the iſſue Berenice might have by Antiochus ſhould ſucceed to the throne, and ſhe then had a ſon. Laodice, therefore, cauſed Antiochus to be poiſoned; and when ſhe ſaw him expiring, ſhe placed in his bed a perſon, named Artemon, who very much reſembled him both

* A. M. 3758. Ant. J. C. 246. Hieron. in Daniel. Plin. l. vii. c. 12. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 14. Solin. c. 1. Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 1.

in

in his features and the tone of his voice. He was there to act the part she had occasion for, and acquitted himself with great dexterity; taking great care, in the few visits that were rendered him, to recommend his dear Laodice and her children to the lords and people. In his name were issued orders, by which his eldest son Seleucus Callinicus was appointed his successor. His death was then declared; upon which Seleucus peaceably ascended the throne, and enjoyed it for the space of 20 years. It appears by the sequel, that his brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, had the government of the provinces of Asia Minor, where he commanded a very considerable body of troops.

Laodice, not believing herself safe as long as Berenice and her son lived, concerted measures with Seleucus to destroy them also; but that princess, being informed of their design, escaped the danger for some time, by retiring with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator: but being at last betrayed by the perfidy of those who besieged her there by the order of Laodice, first her son, and then herself, with all the Egyptians who had accompanied her to that retreat, were murdered in the blackest and most inhuman manner.

This event was an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold, with relation to this marriage. "* The "king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the "north to make an agreement: but he shall not retain the power "of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall "be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat "her, and that strengthened her in these times." I am not surprised that Porphyry, who was a professed enemy to Christianity, should represent these prophecies of Daniel, as predictions made after the several events to which they refer; for, could they possibly be clearer, if he had even been a spectator of what he foretold?

What probability was there that Egypt and Syria, which, in the time of Daniel, constituted part of the Babylonian empire, as tributary provinces, should each of them be governed by kings who originally sprung from Greece? And yet the prophet saw them established in those dominions above 300 years before that happened. He beheld these two kings in a state of war, and saw them afterwards reconciled by a treaty of peace ratified by a marriage. He also observed, that it was the king of Egypt,

* Dan. xi. 6.

and

and not the king of Syria, who cemented the union between them by the gift of his daughter. He saw her conducted from Egypt to Syria, in a pompous and magnificent manner; but was sensible that this event would be succeeded by a strange catastrophe. In a word, he discovered that the issue of this princess, notwithstanding all the express precautions in the treaty for securing their succession to the crown, in exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from ascending the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herself was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed, with all the officers who conducted her out of Egypt into Syria, and, till then, had been her strength and support. "Great God! how worthy are thy oracles to be "believed and reverenced!" *Testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis.*

Whilst Berenice was besieged and blocked up in Daphne, the cities of Asia Minor, who had received intelligence of her treatment, were touched with compassion at her misfortune; in consequence of which they formed a confederacy, and sent a body of troops to Antioch for her relief. Her brother, Ptolemy Evergetes, was also as expeditious as possible to advance thither with a formidable army; but the unhappy Berenice and her children were dead before any of these auxiliary troops could arrive at the place where the siege had been carried on against her. When they therefore saw that all their endeavours to save the queen and her children were rendered ineffectual, they immediately determined to revenge her death, in a remarkable manner. The troops of Asia joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy, who commanded them, was as successful as he could desire in the satisfaction of his just resentment. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of the king her son, who had made himself an accomplice in her barbarity, soon alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris; and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition which obliged him to return to Egypt, he would certainly have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He, however, left Antiochus, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side mount Taurus; and Xantippus was intrusted with those that lay beyond it: Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt, laden with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests.

This

This prince carried off 40,000 * talents of silver, with a prodigious quantity of gold and silver vessels, and 2,500 statues, part of which were those Egyptian idols, that Cambyses, after his conquest of this kingdom, had sent into Persia. Ptolemy gained the hearts of his subjects by replacing those idols in their ancient temples, when he returned from this expedition: for the Egyptians, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than all the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their veneration and gratitude to a king, who had restored their gods to them in such a manner. Ptolemy derived from this action the title of Evergetes, which signifies a Benefactor, and is infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory. An epithet of this nature is the true characteristic of kings, whose solid greatness consists in their inclination and ability to improve the welfare of their subjects; and it were to be wished, that Ptolemy had merited this title by actions more worthy of it.

All this was also accomplished exactly as the prophet Daniel had foretold, and we need only cite the text, to prove what we advance. "† But out of a branch of her root," intimating the king of the South, who was Ptolemy Evergetes, the son of Ptolemy Philadelphus, "shall one stand up in his estate, "which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the "fortress of the king of the North," Seleucus Callinicus, "and "shall deal against them, and shall prevail. And shall also carry "captives into Egypt, their gods, with their princes, and with "their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall con"tinue more years than the king of the North. So the king "of the South shall come into his kingdom, and shall return "into his own land;" namely, into that of Egypt.

‡ When Ptolemy Evergetes first set out on this expedition, his queen Berenice, who tenderly loved him, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair, if he should happen to return in safety. This was undoubtedly a sacrifice of the ornament she most esteemed; and when she at last saw him return with so much glory, the accomplishment of her promise was her immediate care; in order to which she caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the Gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour of his beloved Arsinoe on Zephyrium, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the

* About L.6,000,000 Sterling. † Dan xi. 7, 9.

‡ Hygini. Poet. Astron. l. ii. Nonnus in hist. Synag. Catullus de coma Beren.

Zephyrian Venus. This conſecrated hair being loſt ſoon after by ſome unknown accident, Ptolemy was extremely offended with the prieſts for their negligence; upon which Conon of Samos, an artful courtier, and alſo a mathematician, being then at Alexandria, took upon him to affirm, that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven; and he pointed out ſeven ſtars near the lion's tail, which till then had never been part of any conſtellation; declaring at the ſame time, that thoſe were the hair of Berenice. Several other aſtronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themſelves the diſpleaſure of Ptolemy, gave thoſe ſtars the ſame name, which is ſtill uſed to this day. Callimachus, who had been at the court of Philadelphus, compoſed a ſhort poem on the hair of Berenice, which Catullus afterwards tranſlated into Latin, which verſion is come down to us.

*Ptolemy, in his return from this expedition, paſſed through Jeruſalem, where he offered a great number of ſacrifices to the God of Iſrael, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria: by which action he evidently diſcovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel were ſhown to that prince, and he might conclude, from what they contained, that all his conqueſts and ſucceſſes were owing to that God who had cauſed them to be foretold ſo exactly by his prophets.

† Seleucus had been detained for ſome time in his kingdom by the apprehenſion of domeſtic troubles; but when he received intelligence that Ptolemy was returning to Egypt, he ſet ſail with a conſiderable fleet, to reduce the revolted cities. His enterpriſe was, however, ineffectual; for, as ſoon as he advanced into the open ſea, his whole navy was deſtroyed by a violent tempeſt; as if heaven itſelf, ſays Juſtin, had made the winds and waves the miniſters of his vengeance on this parricide. Seleucus, and ſome of his attendants, were almoſt the only perſons who were ſaved, and it was with great difficulty that they eſcaped naked from the wreck. But this dreadful ſtroke, which ſeemed intended to overwhelm him, contributed, on the contrary, to the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs. The cities of Aſia, which had revolted, through the horror they conceived againſt him, after the murder of Berenice and her children, no ſooner received intelligence of the great loſs he had now ſuſtained, than they imagined

* Joſeph. contra Appian. l. ii.

† A. M. 3759. Ant. J. C. 245. Juſtin, l. xxvii. c. 22.

him

him sufficiently punished, and as their hatred was then changed into compassion, they all declared for him anew.

* This unexpected change having reinstated him in the greatest part of his dominions, he was industrious to raise another army to recover the rest. This effort, however, proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by the forces of Ptolemy, who cut off the greatest part of his troops. He saved himself at Antioch, with the small number of men who were left him when he escaped from the shipwreck at sea: as if, says a certain historian, he had recovered his former power, only to lose it a second time with the greater mortification, by a fatal vicissitude of fortune †.

After this second frustration of his affairs, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, in Asia Minor, were induced, by mere affection to Seleucus, to form a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him. They were greatly attached to his family, from whom they undoubtedly had received many extraordinary favours: they had even rendered divine honours to his father, Antiochus Theos, and also to Stratonice, the mother of this latter. Callinicus retained a grateful remembrance of the regard these cities had testified for his interest, and afterwards granted them several advantageous privileges. They caused the treaty we have mentioned to be engraven on a large column of marble, which still subsists, and is now in the area before the theatre at Oxford. This column was brought out of Asia, by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, at the beginning of the reign of Charles the First, and with several other antique marbles, were presented to the university of Oxford by his grandson, Henry Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the Second. All the learned world ought to think themselves indebted to noblemen who are emulous to adorn and enrich universities in such a generous manner; and I wish the same zeal had ever been testified for that of Paris, the mother of all the rest, and whose antiquity and reputation, in conjunction with the abilities of her professors, and her attachment to the sacred persons of kings, have rendered her worthy of being favoured in a peculiar manner by princes and great men. The establishment of a library in this illustrious seminary would be an immortal honour to the person who should lay the foundation of such a work.

Seleucus, in the extremities to which he was reduced, had

* A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

† Quasi ad ludibrium tantum fortunæ natus esset, nec propter aliud opes regni recepisset, quam ut amitteret. Justin.

made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promiſed to inveſt with the ſovereignty of the provinces of Aſia Minor, provided he would join him with his troops, and act in concert with him. The young prince was then at the head of an army in thoſe provinces; and though he was but 14 years of age*, yet, as he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in men of an advanced age, he immediately accepted the offers made him, and advanced in queſt of his brother, not with any intention to ſecure him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to ſeize them for himſelf. His avidity was ſo great, and he was always ſo ready to ſeize for himſelf whatever came in his way, without the leaſt regard to juſtice, that he acquired the ſurname of Hierax †, which ſignifies a bird that preys on all things he finds, and thinks every thing good upon which he lays his talons.

‡When Ptolemy received intelligence, that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus againſt him, he reconciled himſelf with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he might not have both thoſe princes for his enemies at the ſame time.

§ Antigonus Gonatus died much about this period, at the age of 80, or 83 years; after he had reigned 34 years in Macedonia, and 44 in Greece. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Demetrius, who reigned ten years, and had made himſelf maſter of Cyrenaica and all Libya. ‖ Demetrius firſt married the ſiſter of Antiochus Hierax; but Olympias, the daughter of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, engaged him, after the death of her huſband Alexander, who was her brother, to eſpouſe her daughter Phthia. The firſt wife being unable to ſupport this injurious proceeding, retired to her brother Antiochus, and earneſtly preſſed him to declare war againſt her faithleſs huſband: but his attention was then taken up with other views and employments.

This prince ſtill continued his military preparations, as if he deſigned to aſſiſt his brother, in purſuance of the treaty between them**; but his real intention was to dethrone him, and he con-

* Antiochus, cum eſſet annos quatuordecim natus, ſupra ætatem regni avidus, occaſionem non tam pio animo, quam offerebatur, arripuit: ſed, latronis more, totum fratri eripere cupiens, puer ſceleratam virilemque ſumit audaciam. Unde Hierax eſt cognominatus: quia, non hominis ſed accipitris ritu, in alienis eripiendis vitam ſectaretur. Juſtin.

† A Kite. ‡ A. M. 3761. Ant. J. C. 243.

§ A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.

‖ Polyb. l. ii. p. 131. Juſtin. l. xxviii. c. 1.

** Pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hoſtem, imploratus exhibuit.

cealed

cealed the virulent diſpoſition of an enemy under the name of a brother. Seleucus penetrated his ſcheme, and immediately paſſed mount Taurus, in order to check his progreſs. * Antiochus founded his pretext on the promiſe which had been made him of the ſovereignty of the provinces of Aſia Minor, as a compenſation for aſſiſting his brother againſt Ptolemy; but Seleucus, who then ſaw himſelf diſengaged from that war without the aid of his brother, did not conceive himſelf obliged to perform that promiſe. Antiochus, reſolving to perſiſt in his pretenſions, and Seleucus refuſing to allow them, it became neceſſary to decide the difference by arms. A battle was accordingly fought near Ancyra, in Galatia, wherein Seleucus was defeated, and eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty from the enemy. Antiochus was alſo expoſed to great dangers, notwithſtanding his victory. The troops on whoſe valour he chiefly relied, were a body of Gauls whom he had taken into his pay, and they were undoubtedly ſome of thoſe who had ſettled in Galatia. Theſe traitors, upon a confuſed report that Seleucus had been killed in the action, had formed a reſolution to deſtroy Antiochus, perſuading themſelves that they ſhould be abſolute maſters of Aſia, after the death of thoſe two princes. Antiochus therefore was obliged, for his own preſervation, to deſtribute all the money of the army amongſt them.

† Eumenes, prince of Pergamus, being deſirous of improving this conjuncture, advanced with all his forces againſt Antiochus and the Gauls, in full expectation to ruin them both, in conſequence of their diviſion. The imminent danger to which Antiochus was then reduced, obliged him to make a new treaty with the Gauls, wherein he ſtipulated to renounce the title of their maſter, which he had before aſſumed, for that of their ally; and he alſo entered into a league offenſive and defenſive with that people. This treaty, however, did not prevent Eumenes from attacking them; and as he came upon them in ſuch a ſudden and unexpected manner as did not allow them any time to recover after their fatigues, or to furniſh themſelves with new recruits, he obtained a victory over them, which coſt him but little, and laid all Aſia Minor open to him.

‡ Eumenes, upon this fortunate event, abandoned himſelf to intemperance and exceſs at his table, and died after a reign of 20 years. As he left no children, he was ſucceeded by Atta-

* Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 2. † Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 3.

‡ A. M. 3763. Ant. J. C. 241. Athen. l. x. p. 445. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Valer. Excerpt. ex Polyb.

lus, his couſin-german, who was the ſon of Attalus, his father's younger brother. This prince was wiſe and valiant, and perfectly qualified to preſerve the conqueſts that he inherited. He entirely reduced the Gauls, and then eſtabliſhed himſelf ſo effectually in his dominions, that he took upon himſelf the title of king; for though his predeceſſors had enjoyed all the power, they had never ventured to aſſume the ſtyle of ſovereigns. Attalus, therefore, was the firſt of his houſe who took it upon him, and tranſmitted it, with his dominions, to his poſterity, who enjoyed it to the third generation.

Whilſt Eumenes, and after him, Attalus, were ſeizing the provinces of the Syrian empire in the weſt, Theodotus and Arſaces were proceeding by their example in the eaſt. * The latter, hearing that Seleucus had been ſlain in the battle of Ancyra, turned his arms againſt Hyrcania, and annexed it to Parthia, which he had diſmembered from the empire. He then erected theſe two provinces into a kingdom, which, in proceſs of time, became very formidable to the empire of the Romans. Theodotus dying ſoon after, Arſaces made a league offenſive and defenſive with his ſon, who bore the ſame name, and ſucceeded his father in Bactria; and they mutually ſupported themſelves in their dominions by this union. The two brothers, notwithſtanding theſe tranſactions, continued the war againſt each other, with the moſt implacable warmth, not conſidering, that while they contended with each other for the empire their father had left them, the whole would be gradually wreſted from them by their common enemies.

The treaſure and forces of Antiochus being exhauſted by the ſeveral overthrows and loſſes he had ſuſtained, he was obliged to wander from one retreat to another, with the ſhattered remains of his party, till he was at laſt entirely driven out of Meſopotamia. Finding, therefore, that there was no place in all the empire of Syria, † where he could poſſibly continue in ſafety, he retired for refuge to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whoſe daughter he had eſpouſed. Ariarathes, notwithſtanding this alliance, was ſoon weary of entertaining a ſon-in-law who became a burden to him; for which reaſon he determined to deſtroy him. Antiochus being informed of his deſign, avoided the danger by a ſpeedy retreat into Egypt; where he rather choſe to deliver himſelf up to the power of Ptolemy, the profeſſed enemy of his houſe, than to truſt a brother whom he had ſo highly offended. He however had reaſon to repent of this

* Juſtin. l. xli. c. 4. † A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230.

proceeding;

proceeding; for immediately after his arrival in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be seized and imprisoned *. He also placed a strong guard over him, and detained him several years in that confinement, till at last he found means to escape by the assistance of a courtesan; but as he was quitting that kingdom, he had the misfortune to be assassinated by a band of robbers.

† Ptolemy, in the mean time, devoted the sweets of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria with all sorts of books: but as a proper collection could not well be made without an able librarian, to whose care it would be likewise necessary to consign them, ‡ Evergetes, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had exercised that function from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of that prince, sent to Athens for Eratosthenes the Cyrenian, who was then in great reputation, and had been educated by Callimachus, a native of the same country. § He was a man of universal learning, but none of his works have been transmitted to us, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menes, or Misraim, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a succession of 38 kings, and is still to be seen in Syncellus.

‖ When Seleucus saw himself extricated from the troubles his brother had occasioned, his first cares were employed in the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the dominions he possessed; and when he had accomplished this, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the oriental provinces which had revolted from him. This last attempt, however, was not attended with success; for Arsaces had been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpation. Seleucus therefore, after many ineffectual endeavours, to recover those territories, was obliged to discontinue his enterprise in a dishonourable manner. He, perhaps, might have succeeded better in time, if new commotions, which had been excited in his dominions during his absence, had not compelled him to make a speedy return, in order to suppress them. This furnished Arsaces with a new opportunity of establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts were incapable of reducing it.

** Seleucus, however, made a new attempt, as soon as his affairs would admit: but this second expedition proved more unfor-

* A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. † A. M 3765. Ant. J. C. 239.
‡ Suid. in voc. Ζηνόδοτος. § Id. in voc. Απολλώνιος et Ερατοσθένης.
‖ A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236.
** A. M. 3774. Ant. J. C. 230. Justin. l. xli. c. 4. et 5.

tunate

tunate than the first; for he was not only defeated, but taken prisoner by Arsaces, in a great battle. The Parthians celebrated, for many succeeding years, the anniversary of this victory, which they considered as the first day of their liberty, though in reality it was the first era of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than those Parthian kings to whom they were subjected. The Macedonian yoke would have been much more supportable than their oppressive government, if they had persevered to submit to it. Arsaces now began to assume the title of king, and firmly established this empire of the east, which in process of time, counterpoised the Roman power, and became a barrier, which all the armies of that people were incapable of forcing. All the kings who succeeded Arsaces made it an indispensable law, and counted it an honour, to be called by his name; in the same manner as the kings of Egypt retained that of Ptolemy, as long as the race of Ptolemy Soter governed that kingdom. Arsaces raised himself to a throne from the lowest condition of life, and became as memorable among the Parthians, as Cyrus had been among the Persians, or Alexander among the Macedonians, or Romulus among the Romans*. This verifies that passage in holy scripture, which declares, "† That the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of "men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over "it the basest of men."

‡ Onias, the sovereign pontiff of the Jews, had neglected to send Ptolemy the usual tribute of 20 talents, which his predecessors had always paid to the kings of Egypt, as a testimonial of the homage they rendered to that crown. The king sent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a great sum; and to threaten the Jews, in case of refusal, with a body of troops, who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. The alarm was very great at Jerusalem on this occasion, and it was thought necessary to send a deputation to the king, in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he set out for Egypt before him,

* Arsaces, quæsito simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis (fuit,) quam Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus. Justin.

† Dan. iv. 17.

‡ A. M. 3771. Ant. J. C. 233. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. et 4.

he

he promiſed to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joſeph followed him in a ſhort time, and on his way met with ſeveral conſiderable perſons of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, who were alſo going to Egypt, with an intention to offer terms for farming the great revenues of thoſe provinces. As the equipage of Joſeph was far from being ſo magnificent as theirs, they treated him with little reſpect, and conſidered him as a perſon of no great capacity. Joſeph concealed his diſſatisfaction at their behaviour, but drew, from the converſation that paſſed between them, all the circumſtances he could deſire, with relation to the affair that brought them to court, and without ſeeming to have any particular view in the curioſity he expreſſed.

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had taken a progreſs to Memphis, and Joſeph was the only perſon among them who ſet out from thence, in order to wait upon that monarch, without loſing a moment's time. He had the good fortune to meet him, as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had received impreſſions in his favour from Athenion, was extremely delighted at his preſence, and invited him into his chariot. Joſeph, to excuſe his uncle, repreſented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardineſs of his diſpoſition, in ſuch an engaging manner, as ſatisfied Ptolemy, and created in him an extraordinary eſteem for the advocate who had ſo effectually pleaded the cauſe of that pontiff. He alſo ordered him an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the appointed day came for purchaſing, by auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joſeph in his journey to Egypt offered no more than 8000 talents for the provinces of Cœloſyria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria. Upon which Joſeph, who had diſcovered, in the converſation that paſſed between them in his preſence, that this purchaſe was worth double the ſum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and offered twice as much as they had done. Ptolemy was well ſatisfied to ſee his revenues ſo conſiderably increaſed; but being apprehenſive that the perſon who proffered ſo large a ſum would be in no condition to pay it, he aſked Joſeph what ſecurity he would give him for the performance of his agreement? The Jewiſh deputy replied, with a calm air, that he had ſuch perſons to offer for his ſecurity on that occaſion, as he was certain his majeſty could have no objections to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themſelves; and added,

added, that they would be his ſecurities to each other. The king could not avoid ſmiling at this little pleaſantry, which put him into ſo good an humour, that he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other ſecurity than his verbal promiſe for payment. Joſeph acted in that ſtation for the ſpace of ten years, to the mutual ſatisfaction of the court and provinces. His rich competitors, who had farmed thoſe revenues before, returned home in the utmoſt confuſion, and had reaſon to be ſenſible, that a magnificent equipage is a very inconſiderable indication of merit.

* King Demetrius died, about this time, in Macedonia, and left a ſon, named Philip, in an early ſtate of minority; for which reaſon his guardianſhip was conſigned to Antigonus, who, having eſpouſed the mother of his pupil, aſcended the throne, and reigned for the ſpace of 12 years. He was magnificent in promiſes, but extremely frugal in performance, which occaſioned his being ſurnamed Doſon †.

‡ Five or ſix years after this period, Seleucus Callinicus, who for ſome time had continued in a ſtate of captivity in Parthia, died in that country by a fall from his horſe. Arſaces had always treated him as a king during his confinement. His wife was Laodice, the ſiſter of Andromachus, one of his generals, and he had two ſons and a daughter by that marriage. He eſpouſed his daughter to Mithridates, king of Pontus, and conſigned Phrygia to her for her dowry. His ſons were Seleucus and Antiochus; the former of whom, ſurnamed Ceraunus, ſucceeded him in the throne.

We are now arrived at the period wherein the republic of the Achæans begins to appear with luſtre in hiſtory, and was in a condition to ſuſtain wars, particularly againſt that of the Lacedæmonians. It will therefore be neceſſary for me to repreſent the ſtate of thoſe two republics; and I ſhall begin with that of the Achæans.

* A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232. Juſtin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Dexipp. Porphyr. Euſeb.

† This name ſignifies, in the Greek language, "One who will give;" that is to ſay, a perſon who promiſes to give, but never gives what he promiſes.

‡ A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 216. Juſtin. l. vii. c. 3. Athen. p. 153.

SECT.

SECTION II.

CHARACTER OF ARATUS, WHO DELIVERS SICYONE FROM TYRANNY.—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ACHÆANS.

THE republic of the Achæans * was not conſiderable at firſt, either for the number of its troops, the immenſity of its riches, or the extent of its territory, but derived its power from the great reputation it acquired for the virtues of probity, juſtice, love of liberty; and this reputation was very ancient. The Crotonians and Sybarites adopted the laws and cuſtoms of the Achæans, for the re-eſtabliſhment of good order in their cities. The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had ſuch an eſteem for their virtue, that they choſe them, after the celebrated battle of Leuctra, to arbitrate the differences which ſubſiſted between them.

The government of this republic was democratical, that is to ſay, in the hands of the people. It likewiſe preſerved its liberty to the times of Philip and Alexander; but under thoſe princes, and in the reigns of thoſe who ſucceeded them, it was either in ſubjection to the Macedonians, who had made themſelves maſters of Greece, or elſe was oppreſſed by cruel tyrants.

It was compoſed of 12 * cities, all in Peloponneſus, but together not equal to a ſingle one of conſiderable rank. This republic did not ſignalize herſelf immediately by any thing great and remarkable, becauſe, amongſt all her citizens, ſhe produced none of any diſtinguiſhed merit. The ſequel will diſcover the extraordinary change a ſingle man was capable of introducing among them, by his great qualities. After the death of Alexander, this little ſtate was involved in all the calamities inſeparable from diſcord. The ſpirit of patriotiſm no longer prevailed among them, and each city was ſolely attentive to its particular intereſt. Their ſtate had loſt its former ſolidity, becauſe they changed their maſter as often as Macedonia became ſubject to new ſovereigns. The firſt ſubmitted to Demetrius; after him, to Caſſander; and, laſt of all, to Antigonus Gonatus, who left them in ſubjection to tyrants of his own eſtabliſhing, that they might not withdraw themſelves from his authority.

‡ Toward the beginning of the 124th Olympiad, very near the death of Ptolemy Soter, the father of Philadelphus, and the

* Polyb. l. viii. p. 125—130.

† Theſe 12 cities were Patræ, Dymæ, Pharæ, Tritea, Leontium, Ægira, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Ceraunia, Olenus, Helice.

‡ A. M. 3724. Ant. J. C. 280.

expedition

expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, the republic of the Achæans resumed their former customs, and renewed their ancient concord. The inhabitants of Patræ and Dymæ laid the foundations of this happy change. The tyrants were expelled from the cities, which then united, and constituted one body of a republic anew: all affairs were decided by a public council: the registers were committed to a common secretary; the assembly had two presidents, who were nominated by the cities in their respective turns; but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one.

The good order which reigned in this little republic, where freedom and equality, with a love of justice and the public good, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew into their community, several neighbouring cities, who received their laws, and associated themselves into their privileges. Sicyone was one of the first that acceded in this manner; by which means Aratus, one of its citizens, had an opportunity of acting a very great part, and became very illustrious.

*Sicyone, which had long groaned under the yoke of her tyrants, attempted to shake it off, by placing Clinias, one of her first and bravest citizens, at her head; and the government already began to flourish and assume a new form, when Abantidas found means to disconcert this amiable plan, in order to seize the tyranny into his own hands. Some of his relations and friends he expelled from the city, and took off others by death: he also searched for Aratus, the son of Clinias, who was then but seven years of age, in order to destroy him; but the infant escaped, with some other persons, amidst the disorders that filled the house when his father was killed; and as he was wandering about the city, in the utmost consternation and distress, he accidentally entered unseen into a house which belonged to the tyrant's sister. This lady was naturally generous, and as she also believed that this destitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulse of some deity, she carefully concealed him; and when night came, caused him to be secretly conveyed to Argos.

Aratus being thus preserved from so imminent a danger, conceived in his soul from thenceforth an implacable aversion to tyrants, which always encreased with his age. He was educated with the utmost care, by some hospitable friends of his father's at Argos.

The new tyranny in Sicyone had passed through several hands

* Plut. in Arato, p. 1027—1031.

in

in a short time when Aratus, who began to arrive at a state of manhood, was solicitous to deliver his country entirely from oppression. He was greatly respected, as well for his birth as his courage, which was accompanied with a gravity superior to his age, and a strong and clear understanding. These qualities, which were well known at that time, caused the exiles from Sicyone to cast their eyes upon him in a peculiar manner, and to consider him as a person destined to be their future deliverer; in which conjecture they were not deceived.

* Aratus, who was then in the twentieth year of his age, formed a confederacy against Nicocles, who was tyrant at that time; and though the spies he sent to Argos kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he pursued his measures with so much prudence and secrecy, that he scaled the walls of Sicyone and entered the city by night. The tyrant was fortunate enough to secure himself a retreat, through subterranean passages; and when the people assembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been transacted, a herald cried with a loud voice, that "Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to resume their "liberty." Upon which the crowd immediately flocked to the palace of the tyrant, and burned it to ashes in a few moments; but not a single man was killed or wounded on either side; the good genius of Aratus not suffering an action of this nature to be polluted with the blood of his citizens; and in this circumstance he made his joy and triumph consist. He then recalled all those who had been banished, to the number of 500.

Sicyone then began to enjoy some repose, but Aratus was not fully relieved from inquietude and perplexity. With respect to the situation of affairs without, he was sensible that Antigonus cast a jealous eye on the city, and had meditated expedients for making himself master of it, from its having recovered its liberty. He beheld the seeds of sedition and discord sown within, by those who had been banished, and was extremely apprehensive of their effects. He imagined, therefore, that the safest and most prudent conduct in this delicate juncture, would be to unite Sicyone in the Achæan league, in which he easily succeeded; and this was one of the greatest services he was capable of rendering his country.

The power of the Achæans was indeed but inconsiderable; for, as I have already observed, they were only masters of three very small cities. Their country was neither good nor rich, and

* A. M. 3752. Ant. J. C. 252.

they inhabited a coaſt which had neither ports, nor any other maritime ſtations of ſecurity. But, with all this mediocrity and ſeeming weakneſs, they of all people made it moſt evident, that the forces of the Greeks could be always invincible, when under good order and diſcipline, and with a prudent and experienced general at the head of them. Thus did thoſe Achæans, who were ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of the ancient power of Greece, by conſtantly adhering to good counſels, and continuing ſtrictly united together, without blaſting the merit of their fellow-citizens with the malignant breath of envy; thus, I ſay, did theſe Achæans not only maintain their liberties, amidſt ſo many potent cities, and ſuch a number of tyrants, but reſtored freedom and ſafety to moſt of the Grecian ſtates.

Aratus, after he had engaged his city in the Achæan league, entered himſelf among the cavalry, for the ſervice of that ſtate, and was not a little eſteemed by the generals, for the promptitude and vivacity he diſcovered in the execution of their orders: for though he had infinitely contributed to the power and credit of the league, by ſtrengthening it with his own reputation, and all the forces of his country, yet he appeared as ſubmiſſive as the meaneſt ſoldier to the general of the Achæans, notwithſtanding the obſcurity of the city from whence that officer was ſelected for ſuch an employment. This is certainly an excellent example for young princes and noblemen, when they ſerve in armies, which will teach them to forget their birth on thoſe occaſions, and pay an exact ſubmiſſion to the orders of their commanders.

* The conduct and character of Aratus are undoubtedly worthy of admiration. He was naturally polite and obliging; his ſentiments were great and noble; and he entirely devoted himſelf to the good of the ſtate, without any intereſted views. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants, and regulated his friendſhip and enmity by the public utility. He was qualified, in many particulars, to appear at the head of affairs: his expreſſions in diſcourſe were always proper; his thoughts juſt, and even his ſilence judicious. He conducted himſelf with a complacency of temper, in all differences that aroſe in any deliberations of moment, and had no ſuperior in the happy art of contracting friendſhips and alliances. He had a wonderful facility in forming enterpriſes againſt an enemy; in making his deſigns impenetrable ſecrets, and in executing them happily by his patience and intrepidity. It muſt however be acknowledged, that

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1031. Polyb. l. iv. p. 277, 278.

this

this celebrated Aratus did not seem to be the same man, at the head of an army: nothing could then be discovered in him, but protraction, irresolution, and timidity; whilst every prospect of danger was insupportable to him. Not that he really wanted courage and boldness, but these qualities seemed to be struck languid by the greatness of the execution, and he was only timorous on certain occasions, and at intervals. It was from this disposition of his, that all Peloponnesus was filled with the trophies of his conquerors, and the monuments of his own defeats. In this manner, says Polybius, has nature compounded different and contrary qualities together, not only in the bodies of men, but even in their minds; and hence it is that we are to account for the surprising diversity we frequently perceive in the same persons. On some occasions they appear lively, heroic, and undaunted; and at others, all their vigour, vivacity, and resolution, entirely abandon them.

* I have already observed, that those citizens who had been banished gave Aratus great perplexity. His disquiet was occasioned by their pretensions to the lands and houses they possessed before their exile; the greatest part of which had been consigned to other persons, who afterwards sold them, and disappeared upon the expulsion of the tyrant. It was reasonable that these exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions, after their recall from banishment, and they made application to that effect with all imaginable importunity. On the other hand, the greatest part of what they claimed had been alienated to fair purchasers, who consequently expected to be reimbursed, before they delivered up such houses and lands to the claimants. The pretensions and complaints on this occasion were vigorously urged on both sides, and Sicyone was in the utmost danger of being ruined by a civil war, which seemed inevitable. Never was any affair more difficult than this. Aratus was incapable of reconciling the two parties, whose demands were equally equitable, and it was impossible to satisfy them both at the same time, without expending very considerable sums, which the state was in no condition to furnish. In this emergency he could think of no resource but the goodness and liberality of Ptolemy king of Egypt, which he himself had experienced, on the following occasion.

That prince was extremely curious in portraits and other paintings: Aratus, therefore, who was an excellent judge of such performances, collected all the works of the greatest masters which

* A. M. 3753. Ant. J. C. 251. Plut. in Arat. p. 1031—1038.

he could poſſibly procure, eſpecially thoſe of Pamphilus and Melanthus, and ſent them to the king. Sicyone was ſtill in great reputation for the arts, and painting in particular; the true taſte of which was preſerved there in all its ancient purity. It is even ſaid, that Apelles, who was then admired by all the world, had been at Sicyone, where he frequented the ſchools of two painters, to whom he gave a talent, equal to 1000 crowns, not for acquiring a perfection in the art from them, but in order to obtain a ſhare in their great reputation. When Aratus had reinſtated his city in its former liberties, he deſtroyed all the pictures of the tyrants; but when he came to that of Ariſtratus, who reigned in the time of Philip, and whom the painter had repreſented in the attitude of ſtanding in a triumphant chariot, he heſitated a long time whether he ſhould deface it or not; for all the capital diſciples of Melanthus had contributed to the completion of that piece, and it had even been touched by the pencil of Apelles. This work was ſo inimitable in its kind, that Aratus was inchanted with its beauties; but his averſion for tyrants prevailed over his admiration of the picture, and he accordingly ordered it to be deſtroyed.

The fine taſte of Aratus for painting had recommended him to the good graces of Ptolemy; and he therefore thought he might take the liberty to implore the generoſity of that prince, in the melancholy ſituation to which he was then reduced. With this view he embarked for Egypt, but was expoſed to many dangers and diſappointments, before he could arrive in that kingdom. He had a long audience of Ptolemy, who eſteemed him the better, the more he knew him; and preſented him with 150 talents for the benefit of his city. Aratus carried away 40 talents when he ſet out for Peloponneſus, and the king remitted him the remainder in ſeparate payments.

His fortunate return occaſioned univerſal joy in Sicyone, and he was inveſted with full power to decide the pretenſions of the exiles, and regulate the partitions to be made in their favour. But as a wiſe politician, who is not for engroſſing the deciſion of all affairs to himſelf, nor afraid of diminiſhing his reputation by admitting others to ſhare it with him, he firmly refuſed the honours deſigned him, and nominated for his coadjutors 15 citizens of the greateſt repute, in conjunction with whom he at laſt reſtored harmony and peace among the inhabitants, and refunded to the ſeveral purchaſers all the ſums they had expended for the lands and houſes they had actually bought. It has always been obſerved, that glory purſues thoſe who are induſtrious to decline it. Aratus, therefore, who thought himſelf in need of good counſels,

counſels, to aſſiſt him in the determination of this important affair (and perſons of the greateſt merit always entertain the ſame diffidence of themſelves), had all the honour of this affair. His conduct was infinitely applauded; ſtatues were erected to him, and the people, by public inſcriptions, declared him the father of the people, and the deliverer of his country. Theſe are qualities that infinitely tranſcend thoſe of the moſt celebrated conquerors.

A ſucceſs ſo illuſtrious gave Antigonus jealouſy, and even fear; in conſequence of which, at a public entertainment, he artfully enhanced the merit and capacity of this young man by extraordinary praiſes, poſſibly with an intention either to gain him over to his own intereſt, or to render him ſuſpected to Ptolemy. He inſinuated, in terms ſufficiently intelligible, that Aratus having diſcovered, by his own experience, the vanity of the Egyptian pride, intended to attach himſelf to his ſervice; and that he therefore was reſolved to employ him in his affairs: he concluded this ſtrain of artifice with entreating all the lords of his court, who were then preſent, to regard him for the future as their friend. The particulars of this diſcourſe were ſoon repeated to Ptolemy, who was not a little ſurpriſed and afflicted when he heard them; and he complained to Aratus of this injurious change, but the latter eaſily juſtified himſelf to that monarch.

Aratus having been elected general of the Achæans, for the firſt time, ravaged Locris, and all the territory of Calydon, and advanced with a body of 10,000 men to ſuccour the Bœotians; but was ſo unfortunate as not to arrive among them till after the battle of Chæronea*, in which they were defeated by the Ætolians.

† Eight years after this tranſaction, he was elected general of the Achæans a ſecond time, and rendered great ſervice to all Greece, by an action which, according to Plutarch, was equal to any of the moſt illuſtrious enterpriſes of the Grecian leaders.

The iſthmus of Corinth, which ſeparates the two ſeas, unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponneſus; the citadel alſo of Corinth, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Acro-Corinthus, is ſituated on a high mountain, exactly in the middle of thoſe two continents, which are there divided from each other by a

* Philip, above 40 years before this event, had obtained a celebrated victory over the Athenians and Thebans, near the ſame place.

† A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244.

very

very narrow neck of land; by which means this fortreſs, when furniſhed with a good garriſon, cuts off all communication, by ſea and land, from the inner part of the iſthmus, and renders the perſon who poſſeſſes it, with a good body of troops, abſolute maſter of all Greece. Philip called this citadel "the Shackles "of Greece;" and as it was capable of being rendered ſuch, it created jealouſy in all the neighbouring ſtates, and eſpecially in kings and princes, who conſequently were deſirous of ſeizing it for their own uſe.

Antigonus, after a long impatience to render himſelf maſter of this place, was ſo fortunate as to carry it by ſurpriſe, and made no ſcruple to congratulate himſelf as much on this ſucceſs, as on a real triumph. Aratus, on the other hand, entertained hopes of wreſting this fortreſs from him, in his turn; and while all his thoughts were employed to that effect, an accidental circumſtance furniſhed him with an opportunity of accompliſhing his deſign.

Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had taken a journey to Sicyone, in order to tranſact ſome affairs in that city, and had there contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker, who was a particular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened to be the ſubject of one of their converſations, Erginus told his friend, that, when he went to viſit his brother, who was a ſoldier of the garriſon, he had obſerved a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led to that part of the ſummit where the wall of the citadel was very low. The banker was very attentive to this account, and with a ſmile, deſired his friend to tell him, whether he and his brother would be inclinable to gain a large ſum of money, and make their fortunes? Erginus immediately comprehended the bent of this queſtion, and promiſed to ſound his brother Diocles on that head. Some few days after this converſation he returned to the banker, and engaged to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the height of the wall did not exceed 15 feet; adding, at the ſame time, that himſelf and his brother would aſſiſt him in executing the reſt of his enterpriſe. Aratus promiſed, on his part, to give them 60 talents, if the affair ſhould ſucceed; but as it became requiſite to depoſit that ſum in the hands of the banker, for the ſecurity of the two brothers, and as Aratus was neither maſter of ſo many talents, nor had any inclination to borrow them, for fear of giving ſuſpicion by that proceeding, which would have entirely defeated his enterpriſe, he pledged all his gold and ſilver plate, with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a ſecurity for the promiſed ſum.

Aratus

Aratus had so great a soul, says Plutarch, and such an ardour for great actions, that when he considered with himself, how universally the famous Epaminondas and Phocion had been reputed the most worthy and just men in all Greece, for refusing the presents that had been offered to them, and preferring virtue to all the riches in the world, he was solicitous to refine upon their generosity and disinterested spirit. There is certainly a wide difference between the mere refusal of presents, and the sacrifice of a person's self and fortune for the service of the public. Aratus parted with all his fortune, and that too without its being known, for an enterprise, wherein he alone was exposed to all the danger. Where is the man, cries Plutarch, amidst the enthusiasm into which this amiable action had wrought him, who can possibly be incapable of admiring so uncommon and surprising an instance of magnanimity! Who, even at this time, can forbear to interest himself in this great exploit, and to combat in imagination by the side of so great a man, who paid so dearly for so extraordinary a danger, and pledged the most valuable part of his fortune, only to procure an opportunity of advancing into the midst of his enemies in the dead of night, when he knew he should be compelled to engage for his own life, without any other security than the hopes of performing a noble action!

It may justly be remarked on this occasion, that the taste for glory, disinterestedness, and the public good was perpetuated among the Greeks, by the remembrance of those great men, who distinguished themselves in past ages by such glorious sentiments. This is the great advantage which attends history written like that of the Greeks, and the principal advantage derived from it.

The preparations for the enterprise were disconcerted by a variety of obstructions, any one of which seemed sufficient to have rendered it ineffectual; but when all these were at last surmounted, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms. He then selected 400 men, most of whom were unacquainted with the design he intended to execute: they were all furnished with scaling-ladders, and he led them directly to the gates of the city by the walls of Juno's temple. The sky was then unclouded, and the moon shone extremely bright, which filled the adventurers with just apprehensions of being discovered. But in a little time a dark fog rose very fortunately from the sea, and shed a thick gloom over all the adjacent parts of the city. All the troops then seated themselves on the ground,

ground, to take off their ſhoes, as well to leſſen the noiſe, as to facilitate their aſcent by the ſcaling ladders, from which they would not then be ſo liable to ſlip. In the mean time, Erginus, with ſeven reſolute young men, habited like travellers, paſſed through the gate without being perceived, and killed the centinel and guards who were there upon duty. The ladders were then fixed upon the wall, and Aratus aſcended with 100 of his boldeſt troops, giving orders to the reſt to follow him as faſt as they were able; and when they had all mounted the walls, he deſcended into the city with the utmoſt joy, as having already ſucceeded, by paſſing undiſcovered.

As they were proceeding in their march, they ſaw a ſmall guard of four men with lights in their hands, by whom they were not perceived, becauſe the darkneſs of the night ſhrouded them from their view. Aratus and his men ſhrunk back into a line, againſt ſome walls and ruins that were near, where they diſpoſed themſelves into an ambuſcade, from whence they ſtarted as the four men were paſſing by, and killed three of their number. The fourth, who received a deep wound on his head, fled from the place, and cried out as loud as he was able, that the enemy were entered the city. The trumpets in a moment ſounded the alarm, and all the inhabitants crowded together at the noiſe. The ſtreets were already filled with people, who flocked from all quarters by the blaze of innumerable lights which were immediately ſet up in the city, and alſo on the ramparts of the caſtle, whilſt every place reſounded with confuſed cries that were not to be diſtinguiſhed.

Aratus ſtill continued his progreſs, notwithſtanding the alarm, and endeavoured to climb the ſteep rocks, which at firſt were very difficult of aſcent, becauſe he had miſſed the path that led to the wall through numberleſs windings, which it was almoſt impracticable to trace out. While he was thus perplexed, the clouds diſperſed, as if a miracle had interpoſed in his favour; the moon then appeared in its former brightneſs, and diſcovered all the intricacies of the path, till he arrived on the ſpot of ground at the foot of the wall, which had been formerly deſcribed to him. The ſkies were then happily covered with clouds again, and the moon was once more immerſed in darkneſs.

The 300 ſoldiers whom Aratus had left without, near the temple of Juno, having entered the city, which was then filled with confuſion and tumult, and alſo illuminated with a prodigious number of lights; and not being able to find the path which Aratus had taken, drew up into a cloſe body, under a bending rock which ſhaded them at the bottom of the precipice, and

and there they waited in the utmoſt anxiety and diſtreſs. Aratus was then ſkirmiſhing on the ramparts of the citadel, and the noiſe of the combatants might eaſily be heard: but as the ſound was repeated by the echoes of the neighbouring mountains, it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the place from whence it proceeded. Theſe ſoldiers, therefore, not knowing which way to bend their courſe, Archelaus, who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, having drawn out a conſiderable number of troops, mounted the aſcent with loud ſhouts, and a great blaſt of trumpets, with an intention to aſſault Aratus in his rear, and paſſed by thoſe 300 men without perceiving them: but when he had advanced a little beyond them, they ſtarted from the place of their concealment, as if they had been planted expreſsly in ambuſcade, and fell upon him with great reſolution, killing all who firſt came in their way. The reſt of the troops, and even Archelaus himſelf, were then ſeized with ſuch a conſternation, that they fled from their enemies, who continued to attack them in their retreat, till they had all diſperſed themſelves in the city.

This defeat was immediately ſucceeded by the arrival of Erginus, who had been ſent by thoſe that were fighting on the walls of the citadel, to acquaint them that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, who made a very vigorous defence, and was in great need of immediate aſſiſtance. The troops then deſired him to be their conductor that moment, and as they mounted the rocks, they proclaimed their approach by loud cries, to animate their friends, and redouble their ardour. The beams of the moon, which was then in the full, played upon their armour, and, in conjunction with the length of the way by which they aſcended, made them appear more numerous, while the midnight ſilence rendered the echoes much more ſtrong and audible; by which means their ſhouts ſeemed thoſe of a much greater body of men than they really were. In a word, when they at laſt had joined their companions, they charged their enemies with a vigour that ſoon diſperſed them, upon which they poſted themſelves on the wall, and became abſolute maſters of the citadel by break of day; ſo that the ſun's firſt rays ſaw them victorious. The reſt of their troops arrived at the ſame time from Sicyone; and the Corinthians, after they had willingly thrown open the city gates to receive them, aſſiſted them in making the troops of Antigonus priſoners of war.

Aratus, when he had effectually ſecured his victory, deſcended from the citadel into the theatre, which was then crowded with a vaſt concourſe of people, drawn thither by their curioſity to ſee him, and to hear him ſpeak. After he had poſted his Achæans

Achæans in two lines, in the avenues of the theatre, he advanced from the bottom of the ſtage completely armed, with a countenance extremely changed by his want of reſt, and the long fatigue he had ſuſtained. The bold and manly joy with which this extraordinary ſucceſs had inſpired him, was obſcured by the languor his extreme weakneſs and decay of ſpirits had occaſioned. The moment he appeared in the theatre, all the people were emulous to teſtify their profound reſpect and gratitude, by repeated applauſes and acclamations. Aratus, in the mean time, ſhifted his lance from his left to his right hand; and then reſted upon it, with his body bent a little towards the audience, in which poſture he continued for ſome time.

When the whole theatre was at laſt ſilent, he exerted all the vigour he had left, and acquainted them, in a long diſcourſe, with the particulars of the Achæan league; after which he exhorted them to accede to it. He likewiſe delivered to them the keys of their city, which, till then, had never been in their power from the time of Philip. As to the captains of Antigonus, he reſtored Archelaus, whom he had taken priſoner, to his liberty, but cauſed Theophraſtus to ſuffer death for refuſing to quit the city.

Aratus made himſelf maſter of the temple of Juno, and of the port, where he ſeized 25 of the king's ſhips. He alſo took 500 war-horſes, and 400 Syrians, whom he afterwards ſold. The Achæans kept the citadel, in which they placed a garriſon of 400 men.

An action ſo bold and ſucceſsful as this, muſt undoubtedly be productive of very fortunate events. The inhabitants of Megara quitted the party of Antigonus, and joined Aratus. Their example was ſoon followed by the people of Træzene and Epidaurus, who acceded to the Achæan league.

Aratus alſo brought Ptolemy, king of Egypt, into the confederacy, by aſſigning the ſuperintendency of the war to him, and electing him generaliſſimo of their troops by ſea and land. This event acquired him ſo much credit and reputation, that though the nomination of any man to the poſt of captain-general for a ſucceſſion of years was expreſsly prohibited by the laws, Aratus was however elected every other year, and he, either by his counſels or perſonal conduct, enjoyed that command without any diſcontinuation: for it was evident to all mankind, that neither riches, nor the friendſhip of kings, nor even the particular advantages of Sicyone, his native place, nor any other conſideration whatever, had the leaſt competition in his mind, with the welfare and aggrandizement of the Achæans. He

was

was perſuaded, that all weak cities reſemble thoſe parts of the body which only thrive and exiſt by their mutual union, and muſt infallibly periſh when once they are ſeparated; as the ſuſtenance by which they ſubſiſt will be diſcontinued from that moment. Cities ſoon ſink into ruin, when the ſocial bands which connect them are once diſſolved; but they are always ſeen to flouriſh, and improve in power and proſperity, when they become parts of a large body, and are aſſociated by a unity of intereſt. A common precaution then reigns through the whole, and is the happy ſource of life, from whence all the vigour that ſupports them is derived.

* All the views of Aratus, while he continued in his employment, tended entirely to the expulſion of the Macedonians out of Peloponneſus, and the abolition of all kinds of tyranny; the re-eſtabliſhment of the cities in their ancient liberty, and the exerciſe of their laws. Theſe were the only motives which prompted him to oppoſe the enterpriſes of Antigonus Gonatus, during the life of that prince.

† He alſo purſued the ſame conduct with reſpect to Demetrius, who ſucceeded Antigonus, and reigned for the ſpace of ten years. The Ætolians had at firſt joined Antigonus Gonatus, with an intention to deſtroy the Achæan league, but embroiled themſelves with Demetrius his ſucceſſor, who declared war againſt them. ‡ The Achæans, forgetting on this occaſion the ill treatment they had received from that people, marched to their aſſiſtance, by which means a ſtrict union was re-eſtabliſhed between them, and became very advantageous to all the neighbouring cities.

§ Illyrium was then governed by ſeveral petty kings, who ſubſiſted chiefly by rapine, and exerciſed a ſort of piracy againſt all the neighbouring countries. Agron, the ſon of Pleurates, Scerdiledes, Demetrius of Pharus, ſo called from a city of Illyrium ſubject to him, were the petty princes who infeſted all the neighbouring parts; and attacked Corcyra, and the Acarnanians in particular. ‖ Teuta reigned after the death of her huſband Agron, who ended his days by intemperance, and left a young ſon, named Pinæus. Theſe people, haraſſed in the manner I have mentioned, had recourſe to the Ætolians and Achæ-

* Polyb. l. ii. p. 130.

† A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242. Polyb. l. ii. p. 91—101. Appian. de bellis Illyr. p. 760.

‡ A. M. 3770. Ant. J. C 234.

§ A. M. 3772. Ant. J. C. 232.

‖ A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228.

ans,

ans, who readily undertook their defence; and their good ſervices were not repaid with ingratitude. The people of Corcyra made an alliance with the Illyrians, ſoon after this event, and received Demetrius of Pharus, with his garriſon into their city.

* The Romans were ſo offended at the piracies with which this people infeſted their citizens and merchants, that they ſent an embaſſy to Teuta, to complain of thoſe injurious proceedings. That princeſs cauſed one of the ambaſſadors to be ſlain, and the other to be thrown into priſon, which provoked the Romans to declare war againſt her, in revenge for ſo outrageous an inſult. The two conſuls, L. Poſthumus Albinus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, ſet out with a commiſſion to invade Illyrium by ſea and land. The people of Corcyra, in concert with Demetrius of Pharus, delivered up to the conſul Fulvius the garriſon they had received into their city; and the Romans, after they had reinſtated Corcyra in its former liberties, advanced into Illyrium, and conquered great part of the country; but conſigned ſeveral cities to Demetrius, as a compenſation for his treacherous conduct in their favour.

† Teuta, reduced to the utmoſt extremity, implored peace of the Romans, and obtained it, on her engagement to pay an yearly tribute, and deliver up all Illyrium, except a few places, which ſhe was permitted to enjoy; but the moſt beneficial article for the Greeks was, her being reſtrained from ſailing beyond the city of Liſſus with more than two ſmall veſſels, and even thoſe were not to carry any arms. The other petty kings, who ſeemed to have been ſubordinate to Teuta, were comprehended in this treaty, though it expreſsly mentioned none but that princeſs.

The Romans then cauſed themſelves to be reſpected in Greece by a ſolemn embaſſy, and this was the firſt time that their power was known in that country. They alſo ſent ambaſſadors to the Ætolians and Achæans, to communicate to them the treaty they had lately concluded with the Illyrians. Others were alſo diſpatched to Corinth and Athens, and the Corinthians then declared for the firſt time, by a public decree, that the Romans ſhould be admitted to celebrate the Iſthmian games, with the ſame privileges as the Greeks. The freedom of the city was alſo granted them at Athens, and they were permitted to be initiated into their ſolemn myſteries.

* A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226.
† A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

Aratus

Aratus, after the death of Demetrius, who reigned only ten years, found the diſpoſitions of the people very favourable to his deſigns. Several tyrants, whom that prince had ſupported with all his credit, and to whom he paid large penſions, having loſt their ſupport by his death, made a voluntary reſignation of the authority they had uſurped over their citizens; others of them, either intimidated by the menaces of Aratus, or prevailed upon by his promiſes, followed their example; and he procured ſeveral advantages for them all, that they might have no temptation to repent their conduct.

* Aratus, who beheld with regret the ſubjection of the people of Argos to the tyrant Ariſtomachus, undertook their deliverance, and made it a point of honour to reſtore liberty to that city, as a recompence for the education he had received there; and he alſo conſidered the acceſſion of ſo potent a city to the Achæan league as highly advantageous to the common cauſe; but his meaſures to this effect were rendered unſucceſsful at that time. Ariſtomachus was ſoon after ſlain by his domeſtics; and before there could be any opportunity to regulate affairs, Ariſtippus, a tyrant more deteſtable than his predeceſſor, ſeized the ſupreme power into his own hands, and had the dexterity to maintain himſelf in that uſurpation, even with the conſent of the Argives; but as he beheld a mortal enemy in Aratus, during whoſe life he imagined his own would always be in danger, he reſolved to deſtroy him by the aſſiſtance of king Antigonus Doſon, who agreed to be the miniſter of his vengeance. He had already prepared aſſaſſins in all parts, who watched an opportunity for executing their bloody commiſſion. No prince or commander can ever have a more effectual guard, than the firm and ſincere affection of thoſe they govern: for when once the nobility and people have been accuſtomed not to fear their prince, but to fear for him, innumerable eyes and ears are attentive to all that paſſes. This Aratus was ſo happy as to experience in the preſent conjuncture.

Plutarch, on this occaſion, draws a fine contraſt between the troubles and anxieties of Ariſtippus, and the peace and tranquillity of Aratus. That tyrant, ſays he, who maintained ſuch a body of troops for the ſecurity of his perſon, and who had ſhed the blood of all thoſe of whom he entertained any dread, was incapable of enjoying a moment's repoſe, either by night or day. Every circumſtance alarmed him; his ſoul was the ſeat of terror and anxiety, that knew no intermiſſion; and he even

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1038—1041.

trembled at his own ſhadow. A dreadful guard continually watched round his houſe with drawn ſwords; and as his life was perpetually in their power, he feared them more than all the reſt of mankind. He never permitted them to enter his palace, but ordered them to be ſtationed in the porticoes, which entirely ſurrounded that ſtructure. He drove away all his domeſtics the moment he had ſupped; after which he ſhut the gate of his court with his own hands, and then retired with his concubine into an upper apartment, which he entered by a trap-door. When this was let down, he placed his bed upon it, and ſlept as we may ſuppoſe a man to ſleep in his condition, whoſe ſoul is a perpetual prey to trouble, terror, and apprehenſion. The mother of his concubine removed, each night, the ladder by which he aſcended into his chamber, and replaced it in its former ſituation the next morning. Aratus, on the other hand, who had acquired perpetual power, not by the force of arms, but merely by his virtue and in effect of the laws, appeared in public with a plain robe and a mind void of fear: and whereas all thoſe who poſſeſs fortreſſes, and maintain guards, with the additional precaution of arms, gates, and traps, as ſo many ramparts for their ſafety, ſeldom eſcape a violent death; Aratus, on the contrary, who always ſhowed himſelf an implacable enemy to tyrants, left behind him a poſterity which ſubſiſts, ſays Plutarch, to this day, and is ſtill honoured and reſpected by all the world *.

Aratus attacked the tyrant with open force, but acted with no extraordinary reſolution in the firſt engagement, when even one of the wings of his army had defeated the enemy; for he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded very unſeaſonably, and reſigned the victory to the foe, which drew upon him a number of ſevere reproaches. He however made amends for his fault in a ſecond battle, wherein Ariſtippus, and above 1500 of his men, loſt their lives. Aratus, though he had obtained ſo ſignal a victory, and without loſing one man, was however unable to make himſelf maſter of the city of Argos, and was equally incapable of reſtoring liberty to the inhabitants; as Agias, and the young Ariſtomachus, had thrown a body of the king's troops into the place.

He ſucceeded better with reſpect to the city of Magalopolis, where Lyſiades had uſurped the ſupreme power. This perſon

* Polycrates, to whom Plutarch addreſſes the life of Aratus, was one of his deſcendants, and had two ſons, by whom the race was ſtill continued, 350 years after the death of Aratus.

had

had nothing in his character of the violent and inhuman qualities of tyrants, and had seized the sovereignty from no other inducement, than a false idea of the happiness and glory which he imagined inseparable from supreme power; but he resigned the tyranny, either through fear, or a conviction of his error, upon the remonstrances of Aratus, and caused his city to accede to the Achæan league. That league was affected to such a degree by so generous an action, that they immediately chose him for their general; and as he at first was emulous of surpassing Aratus, he engaged in several enterprises which seemed necessary at that juncture, and, among the rest, declared war against the Lacedæmonians. Aratus employed his utmost credit to oppose him in those measures, but his endeavours were misinterpreted as the effects of envy. Lysiades was elected general a second time, and then a third, and each of them commanded alternately. But when he was observed to act in opposition to his rival on all occasions, and without the least regard to decency, was continually repeating his injurious treatment of a virtue so solid and sincere as that of Aratus, it became evident that the zeal he affected was no more than a plausible outside, which concealed a dangerous ambition; and they deprived him of the command.

As the Lacedæmonians will, for the future, have a considerable share in the war sustained by the Achæans, it seems necessary to give a brief account of the condition of that people in this place.

SECTION III.

AGIS ATTEMPTS TO REFORM SPARTA.—HE IS CONDEMNED TO DIE, AND EXECUTED ACCORDINGLY.

When * the love of wealth had crept into the city of Sparta, and had afterwards introduced luxury, avarice, sloth, effeminacy, profusion, and all those pleasures which are generally the inseparable attendants of riches; and when these had broken down all the barriers which the wisdom of Lycurgus had formed, with the view of excluding them for ever; Sparta beheld herself fallen from her ancient glory and power, and was reduced to an abject and humble state, which continued to the reign of Agis and Leonidas, of whom we are now to treat.

Agis, the son of Eudamidas, was of the house of the Eurytionidæ, and the sixteenth descendant from Agesilaus, who made an

* Plut. in Agid. p. 796—801.

expedition into Aſia. Leonidas, the ſon of Cleonymus, was of the family of the Agidæ, and the eighth prince that reigned in Sparta, after Pauſanias, who defeated Mardonius in the battle of Platæa.

I have already related the diviſions which aroſe in Sparta, between Cleonymus * and Areus, in regard to the ſovereignty, which was obtained by the latter; and he afterwards cauſed Pyrrhus to raiſe the ſiege of Lacedæmon. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Acrotates, who reigned ſeven or eight years, and left a young ſon, named Areus, from his grandfather. This prince was under the tuition of Leonidas, but died in a ſhort time; upon which Leonidas roſe from the regency to the throne.

Though all the Spartans had been depraved and perverted by the general corruption into which the government was fallen, this depravity and remoteneſs from the ancient manners of that people was moſt conſpicuous in the conduct of Leonidas; who had reſided for ſeveral years in the palaces of the Satrapæ, and had for many years made his court to Seleucus; he had even eſpouſed a wife in Aſia, contrary to the laws of his country; and had afterwards employed his utmoſt endeavours to introduce all the pomp and pride of princes into a free country, and a government founded on moderation and juſtice.

Agis was the reverſe of this character. He was then in the 20th year of his age, and though he had been educated amidſt riches †, and the luxury of a houſe remarkable for being equally voluptuous and haughty, he, from the firſt, renounced all thoſe enſnaring pleaſures; and, inſtead of teſtifying the leaſt regard for the ſplendid vanities of dreſs, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to re-eſtabliſh the ancient form of public meals, baths, and all the ancient diſcipline of Sparta. He even declared openly, "That he ſhould not value being king, "if it were not for the hopes of reviving the ancient laws and "diſcipline of Sparta." Theſe noble ſentiments were a demonſtration, that Agis had formed a ſolid judgment of regal power; the moſt eſſential duty and true glory of which are

* Joſephus relates, that Areus, king of Lacedæmon, ſent letters to Onias the High Prieſt of the Jews, in which he acknowledged an affinity between that people and the Lacedæmonians. The original of this relation is not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed, nor is it leſs difficult to reconcile the time of Areus with that of Onias.

† Plutarch informs us, that his mother Ageſiſtrate, and his grandmother Archidamia, poſſeſſed more gold and ſilver, than all the other Lacedæmonians together.

derived

derived from the eſtabliſhment of good order in all the branches of a ſtate, by giving due force to cuſtoms eſtabliſhed by wiſe laws.

This diſcipline began to be diſregarded the moment Sparta had ruined the Athenian government, and began to abound in gold. The ſame partition, however, of lands, which had been made by Lycurgus, and the number of hereditary poſſeſſions eſtabliſhed by him, having been preſerved through all ſucceſſions of deſcent, and each father tranſmitting his part in the ſame manner as he had received it himſelf; this order and equality, which had been preſerved without interruption, ſuſpended, in ſome meaſure, the ill effects of thoſe abuſes which then prevailed. But as ſoon as this prudent inſtitution began to be ſtruck at, by a law which permitted every man to diſpoſe of his houſe and patrimony, in his own life time, or to make a teſtamentary donation of them to whom he pleaſed; this new law effectually ſapped the beſt foundation of the Spartan polity. Epitades, one of the Ephori, introduced this law, to avenge himſelf on one of his ſons, whoſe conduct had diſpleaſed him.

It is indeed ſurpriſing, that a whole ſtate ſhould ſo eaſily be induced to change ſuch an ancient and fundamental cuſtom as this, merely to gratify the paſſion of one man. The pretext for this change was undoubtedly the augmentation of paternal authority, in their ſeveral families; ſince it was not then poſſeſſed of any motives of filial reſpect; the children of that community having nothing to hope or fear, as they received alike all the fortune they could expect, immediately from the ſtate, and with an abſolute independency on their parents. This domeſtic inconvenience, in which every father thought himſelf concerned, and which ſeemed to regard all good order in families, created ſtrong impreſſions in thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in the adminiſtration, and rendered them incapable of conſidering the much greater inconveniences which would inevitably reſult from this change, and whoſe pernicious effects would be ſoon felt by the ſtate.

This proceeding is ſufficient to convince us how dangerous it is to change the ancient laws *, on which baſis a ſtate, or community, has long ſubſiſted; and what precautions ought to be taken againſt bad impreſſions which may ariſe through particular inconveniences, from which the wiſeſt inſtitutions cannot be exempted. What a depth of prudence, penetration into future

* Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile eſt: veteribus, niſi quæ uſus evidenter arguit, ſtari malunt. Liv. l. xxiv. n. 54.

events, and experience, are neceſſary to thoſe who take upon them to balance and compare the advantages and defects of ancient cuſtoms, with any new regulations which are propoſed to be ſubſtituted in their ſtead.

It may be juſtly affirmed, that the ruin of Sparta was occaſioned by the new law, which authoriſed the alienation of hereditary eſtates. The great men were daily enlarging their fortunes, by diſpoſſeſſing the heirs to whom they belonged; in conſequence of which, all patrimonial poſſeſſions were ſoon engroſſed by a very inconſiderable number of perſons; the poverty which then prevailed through the whole city, ſunk the people into a mean indolence of mind; by extinguiſhing thoſe ardours for virtue and glory, which, till then, had rendered the Spartans ſuperior to all other ſtates of Greece, and by infuſing into the hearts of the people an implacable envy and averſion for thoſe who had unjuſtly diveſted them of all their poſſeſſions.

The number of native Spartans in that city was reduced to about 700; and not many more than 100 of theſe had preſerved their family eſtates. All the reſt were a ſtarving populace, deſtitute of revenues, and excluded from a participation in honours and dignities: theſe acted with reluctance and indifference in wars againſt a foreign enemy, becauſe they were ſenſible the rich would be the only gainers by their victories: in a word, they were conſtantly waiting for an opportunity to change the preſent ſituation of affairs, and withdraw themſelves from the oppreſſions they ſuſtained.

* Such was the ſtate of Sparta, when Agis entertained the deſign of redreſſing the abuſes which then prevailed; at the ſame time that Aratus was employing his endeavours for the deliverance of his country. The enterpriſe was noble, but extremely hazardous. He obſerved, contrary to his expectation, that all the young men were diſpoſed to enter into his views, while the generality of thoſe in years, in whoſe minds corruption had taken the deepeſt root, trembled at the very name of Lycurgus, and reformation. He began by conciliating his uncle Ageſilaus, a man of great eloquence and reputation, but ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a paſſion for riches; which was the very circumſtance that rendered him the more favourable to the deſigns of Agis. He was ready to ſink under a load of debts, and hoped to diſcharge them without any expence to himſelf, by changing the form of government.

Agis then endeavoured, by his means, to bring over his own

* A. M. 3756. Ant. J. C. 248.

mother,

mother, who was the ſiſter of Ageſilaus. Her power was very great in the city, by a large party of friends, and the vaſt number of her ſlaves and debtors; and her credit gave her an extraordinary influence in the moſt important affairs. When Agis had opened his deſign to her, ſhe was ſtruck with conſternation on the firſt ideas it preſented to her mind, and employed all the arguments ſhe could invent to diſſuade him from it: but when Ageſilaus joined his own reflections with thoſe of the king, and had made his ſiſter comprehend the advantages that would accrue to Sparta from the execution of ſuch a deſign, and repreſented to her the glory which her family would for ever derive from it, this lady, as well as thoſe of her ſex with whom ſhe was moſt intimate, being then animated by the noble ambition of the young prince, immediately changed their ſentiments, and were ſo affected with the beauty of the project, that they themſelves preſſed Agis to enter upon the execution of it as ſoon as poſſible. They likewiſe ſent to all their friends, and exhorted them to concur with him in that affair.

Application was alſo made by them to the other ladies of that city, as they were very ſenſible that the Lacedæmonians had always expreſſed the greateſt deference to their wives, whom they allowed to exerciſe more authority in all tranſactions of ſtate, than they themſelves aſſumed in their private and domeſtic affairs. Moſt of the riches of Sparta were at that time in the hands of women, which proved a great obſtruction to the deſigns of Agis. They unanimouſly oppoſed his ſcheme, rightly foreſeeing, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh, and on which ſo many commendations were beſtowed, would not only be deſtructive to all their luxurious pleaſures, but diveſt them of all the honours and power they derived from their riches.

Amidſt the conſternation this propoſal gave them, they addreſſed themſelves to Leonidas, and conjured him, as his age gave him an aſcendant over Agis, to employ his whole authority in diſſuading his colleague from the accompliſhment of his plan. Leonidas was very inclinable to ſupport the rich, but as he dreaded the indignation of the people, who were deſirous of this change, he could not preſume to oppoſe Agis in an open manner, but contented himſelf with croſſing his deſigns by indirect meaſures. He had a private conference with the magiſtrates, wherein he took the liberty to calumniate Agis, as a perſon who was offering to the poor the properties of the rich, with a partition of lands, and a general abolition of debts, as a compenſation to them for the tyranny he was preparing to uſurp; in conſequence of which proceedings, inſtead of forming citizens for

Sparta,

Sparta, he was only raiſing a body of guards for the ſecurity of his own perſon.

Agis, in the mean time, having ſucceeded ſo far as to cauſe Lyſander, who concurred with him in his views, to be elected one of the Ephori, brought into the council a decree which he himſelf had drawn up, the principal articles of which were theſe: 1. All debtors were to be diſcharged from their debts. 2. All the lands which extended from the valley of Pellene to mount Taygetus, and the promontory of Melea, and likewiſe to Selaſia, ſhould be parcelled out into 4500 lots. 3. The lands which lay beyond thoſe limits ſhould be comprehended in 15,000 lots. 4. The laſt portions were to be diſtributed to thoſe inhabitants of the adjacent parts who were in a condition to bear arms. 5. Thoſe lands which lay within the limits already mentioned ſhould be reſerved for the Spartans, whoſe due number, which was then conſiderably diminiſhed, ſhould be recruited out of ſuch of the neighbouring people, and ſtrangers, as had received an honeſt and generous education, and were then in the flower of their age, and not diſqualified for that claſs by any bodily defect. 6. All theſe ſhould, at the times of repaſt, be diſpoſed into 50 halls, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Phidicies; the leaſt of which ſhould contain 200, and the largeſt 400: and, laſtly, they were all to obſerve the ſame manner of life and diſcipline as their anceſtors.

This decree being oppoſed by the ſenators whoſe ſentiments differed from thoſe of Agis, Lyſander cauſed the people to be aſſembled, and in the ſtrongeſt terms exhorted the citizens to conſent to it. He was ſeconded by Mandroclides, a young Spartan, whoſe heart glowed with zeal for the public welfare; and he repreſented to the people, with all the energy he could poſſibly expreſs, every motive that could moſt affect them; particularly, the reſpect they owed to the memory of their illuſtrious legiſlator Lycurgus; the oath their anceſtors had taken, in the names of themſelves and all their poſterity, to preſerve thoſe ſacred inſtitutions in the moſt inviolable manner; the glory and honour Sparta had enjoyed, during the time ſhe ſtrictly adhered to them; and the infamous degeneracy into which ſhe had ſunk, ever ſince they had been diſregarded by her: he then ſet forth the miſerable condition of the Spartans, thoſe ancient maſters of Greece, thoſe triumphant conquerors of Aſia, thoſe mighty ſovereigns by ſea and land, who once could make the great * king tremble on his throne, but were now diveſted of their cities and

* This was the uſual appellation of the Perſian monarchs.

houſes,

houſes, by the inſatiable avarice of their own citizens, who had reduced them to the loweſt extremities of poverty and ſhameful indigence; which might be conſidered as the completion of all their calamities, as, by theſe means, they were expoſed to the inſult and contempt of thoſe to whom it was their right to preſcribe laws. He then concluded with intreating them not to be ſo far influenced by their obſequiouſneſs to a handful of men, who even trampled them under their feet like ſo many deſpicable ſlaves, as to behold, with eyes of indifference, the dignity of their city entirely degraded and loſt; but that they would recall to their remembrance thoſe ancient oracles, which had more than once declared, that the love of riches would prove fatal to Sparta, and occaſion its total ruin.

King Agis then advanced into the middle of the aſſembly, and declared, after a conciſe diſcourſe (for he thought his example would have more efficacy than any words he could utter), that he was determined to deliver up, for the common welfare, all his effects and eſtate, which were very conſiderable; conſiſting of large tracts of arable and paſture lands, beſide 600 talents of current money*; and that his mother and grandmother, together with the reſt of his relations and friends, who were the richeſt perſons in Sparta, would do the ſame.

The magnanimity of their young prince aſtoniſhed all the people, who, at the ſame time, were tranſported with joy that they at laſt were ſo happy as to behold a king worthy of Sparta. Leonidas then took off the maſk, and oppoſed him to the utmoſt of his power: for as he knew that it would otherwiſe be neceſſary for him to make the ſame offer they had heard from Agis, ſo he was ſenſible, that his citizens would not think themſelves under the ſame obligations to him as they were to his colleague, who, when each of their eſtates ſhould be appropriated to the public, would engroſs all the honour of that action, by rendering it the effect of his own example. He therefore demanded aloud of Agis, whether he did not think that Lycurgus was a juſt and able man, and one who had zealouſly conſulted the welfare of his country? Agis then replied, that he had always conſidered him as ſuch. "Where do you "find then," retorted Leonidas, "that Lycurgus ever or-"dained an abolition of debts, or gave the freedom of Sparta "to ſtrangers? Since, on the contrary, it was his firm per-"ſuaſion, that the city would never be ſafe till all ſtrangers "were expelled from its walls." Agis anſwered, "That he

* Equal to 600,000 French crowns.

"was

" was not ſurpriſed that ſuch a perſon as Leonidas, who had " been brought up in foreign countries, and had married into " the houſe of a Perſian grandee, ſhould be ſo little acquainted " with Lycurgus, as not to know that he had ſwept away all " actual and poſſible debts, by baniſhing gold and ſilver from the " city. That, with reſpect to ſtrangers, his precautions were " intended againſt none but thoſe who could not accommodate " themſelves to the manners and diſcipline he had eſtabliſhed : " that theſe were the only perſons he expelled from the city, " not by any hoſtilities againſt their perſons, but from a mere " apprehenſion, that their method of life, and corruption of " manners, might inſenſibly inſpire the Spartans with the " love of luxury and ſoftneſs, and an immoderate paſſion for " riches."

He then produced ſeveral examples of poets and philoſophers, particularly Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, who had been highly eſteemed and honoured at Sparta, becauſe they taught the ſame maxims as Lycurgus had eſtabliſhed.

This diſcourſe won all the common people over to the party of Agis, but the rich men ranged themſelves under Leonidas, and entreated him not to abandon them : they likewiſe addreſſed themſelves to the ſenators, who had the principal power in this affair, as they alone were qualified to examine all propoſals, before they could be received and confirmed by the people ; and their ſolicitations were ſo effectual, that thoſe who had oppoſed the decree of Agis, carried their point by an unanimous concurrence of voices : upon which Lyſander, who ſtill continued in his employment, immediately determined to proceed againſt Leonidas, in virtue of an ancient law, by which " each deſcen- " dant from Hercules was prohibited from eſpouſing any for- " eign woman ; and which made it death for any Spartan to " ſettle among ſtrangers." Sufficient proofs of delinquency in theſe particulars were produced againſt Leonidas, and Cleombrotus was prevailed upon, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt in the proſecution, and demand the crown, as being himſelf of the royal race, and the ſon-in-law of Leonidas.

Leonidas was ſo confounded at this proceeding, and ſo apprehenſive of the event, that he took ſanctuary in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos ; upon which the wife of Cleombrotus ſeparated herſelf from her huſband, and became a ſuppliant for her father. Leonidas was ſummoned to appear ; but as he refuſed to render obedience in that particular, he was diveſted of his royalty, and it was then transferred to his ſon-in-law Cleombrotus.

Lyſander

Lyſander quitted his employment about the cloſe of theſe tranſactions, the uſual time for holding it being then expired. The new Ephori took this opportunity to commence a proſecution againſt him and Mandroclides, for having voted for the abolition of debts, and a new diſtribution of lands, contrary to the laws. Lyſander and Mandroclides, finding themſelves in danger of being condemned, perſuaded the two kings, that if they would only be united with each other, they would have no cauſe to be diſquieted by any decrees of the Ephori, who were privileged indeed to decide between them, when they were divided in their ſentiments, but had no right to interpoſe in their affairs, when they concurred in the ſame opinions.

The two kings, in order to improve this remonſtrance, entered the aſſembly, where they compelled the Ephori to quit their ſeats, and ſubſtituted others in their ſtead, one of whom was Ageſilaus. They then cauſed a band of young men to arm themſelves, and gave orders for the releaſing the priſoners; in a word, they rendered themſelves very formidable to their enemies, who now expected to be put to the ſword; but not one perſon was killed on this occaſion; and when Agis even knew that Ageſilaus intended to cauſe Leonidas to be aſſaſſinated, in his retreat to Tegea, he ordered him to be ſafely conducted thither by a ſufficient guard.

When the affair was on the point of being abſolutely concluded without any oppoſition, ſo great was the terror which then prevailed, it was ſuddenly obſtructed by a ſingle man. Ageſilaus had one of the largeſt and beſt eſtates in the whole country, and at the ſame time was deeply involved in debt: but as he was incapable of paying his creditors, and had no inclination to incorporate his eſtate into the common property, he repreſented to Agis, that the change would be too great and violent, and even too dangerous, ſhould they attempt to carry their two points at the ſame time; namely, the abolition of debts, and the diſtribution of lands; whereas, if they began with gaining over the landed proprietors, by the annihilation of debts, it would be eaſy for them to accompliſh the partition of lands. The ſpecious turn of this reaſoning enſnared Agis, and even Lyſander himſelf was won over to this expedient by the artifice of Ageſilaus; in conſequence of which all contracts and obligations were taken from the ſeveral creditors, and carried into the public place, where they were piled into a large heap, and burned to aſhes. As ſoon as the flames mounted into the air, the rich men and bankers, who had lent their money, returned home extremely dejected, and Ageſilaus cried with an inſulting

ſulting air, " That he had never ſeen ſo fine and clear a fire " before."

The people, immediately after this tranſaction, demanded a diſtribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its accompliſhment; but Ageſilaus ſtill continued to ſtart freſh difficulties, and found out a variety of new pretexts, to prevent the execution of that affair; by which means he gained time, till Agis was obliged to take the field at the head of an army: for the Achæans, who were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, had ſent to demand their aſſiſtance againſt the Ætolians, who threatened an irruption into the territories of the Megareans in Peloponneſus.

Aratus, who was then general of the Achæans, had already aſſembled his troops to oppoſe the enemy, and had alſo written to the Ephori, who, upon receipt of his letters, immediately ſent Agis to their aſſiſtance. This prince ſet out with all poſſible expedition, and the ſoldiers teſtified an incredible joy, at their marching under his command. The generality of them were young men, in very low circumſtances of life, who now ſaw themſelves diſcharged from all their debts, and free, and alſo in expectation of ſharing the lands, at their return from this expedition; for which reaſons they teſtified the utmoſt affection for Agis. The cities were charmed to ſee theſe troops paſs through Peloponneſus, without committing the leaſt diſorder; and ſo quietly, that the ſound of their march was hardly to be diſtinguiſhed. The Greeks were entirely ſurpriſed, and made the following reflection; " What admirable diſcipline and order " muſt formerly have been obſerved by the armies of Lacedæ- " mon, when they were commanded by Ageſilaus, Lyſander, " or the ancient Leonidas; as they even diſcover at this time " ſo much awe and reſpect for their general, though younger " than any ſoldier in his camp!"

Agis joined Aratus, near Corinth, at the very time when he was deliberating in council of war, whether he ſhould hazard a battle, and in what manner he ſhould diſpoſe his troops. Agis declared for a battle, and thought it not adviſeable to allow the enemies a paſſage into Peloponneſus; but added at the ſame time, that he intended to act as Aratus ſhould judge proper, as he was the older officer of the two, and general of the Achæans, whereas he himſelf was only general of the auxiliary troops; and was not come thither to exerciſe any command over the league, but only to engage the enemy in conjunction with them, for whoſe aſſiſtance he had been ſent. The officers of Aratus, inſtead of treating him with ſo much deference as Agis had expreſſed,

preſſed, took the liberty to reproach him in ſharp terms, for his diſinclination to a battle; aſcribing that to timidity, which, in reality, was the effect of prudence. But the vain fear of falſe infamy did not make him abandon his wiſe view for the public good. He juſtified his conduct by the memoirs he writ on that occaſion; wherein he obſerves, that as the huſbandmen had already carried in their harveſt, and gathered in all the fruits of the ſeaſon, he judged it more adviſeable to let the enemy advance into the country, than to hazard an unneceſſary battle at that juncture, when the welfare of the whole league lay at ſtake. When he had determined not to enter upon action, he diſmiſſed his allies, after he had beſtowed the greateſt commendations upon them; and Agis, who was aſtoniſhed at his conduct, ſet out for Sparta with his troops.

* The Ætolians entered Peloponneſus without any obſtruction, and in their march ſeized the city of Pellene, where their troops, who were intent on nothing but plunder, immediately diſperſed themſelves up and down, without the leaſt order, and began to contend with each other for the ſpoils. Aratus, informed of theſe proceedings, would not ſuffer ſo favourable an opportunity to eſcape him. He then ceaſed to be the ſame man, and without loſing a moment's time, or waiting till all his troops had joined him, advanced with thoſe he then had againſt the enemy, who were become weak even by their victory: he attacked them in the very place they had ſo lately taken, and forced them to abandon it, after having loſt 700 men. This action did him great honour, and changed the injurious reproaches he had patiently ſuffered into the higheſt applauſes and panegyric.

Several ſtates and princes having now entered into a confederacy againſt the Achæans, Aratus endeavoured to contract a friendſhip and alliance with the Ætolians, in which he eaſily ſucceeded; for a peace was not only concluded between them, but he alſo effectually negotiated an offenſive and defenſive league between the two nations of Ætolia and Achaia.

† Agis, when he arrived at Sparta, found a great change in the ſtate of affairs. Ageſilaus, who was one of the Ephori, being no longer reſtrained by fear as formerly, and entirely intent upon the gratification of his avarice, committed the greateſt violence and injuſtice. When he found himſelf univerſally deteſted, he raiſed and maintained a body of troops, who ſerved him

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1041.

† A. M. 3760. Ant. J. C. 244. Plut. in Agid. p. 802—804.

as a guard when he went to the ſenate; and cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he intended to continue in his office the ſucceeding year. His enemies, in order to elude the calamities with which they were threatened, cauſed Leonidas to be ſent for in the moſt public manner from Tegea, and replaced him upon the throne, to the general ſatisfaction of the people, who were greatly irritated to ſee themſelves abuſed in the hopes they had entertained of the partition, which had never been carried into execution.

Ageſilaus ſaved himſelf by the aſſiſtance of his ſon, who was univerſally beloved; and the two kings took ſanctuary; Agis in the temple of Minerva, called Chalcioicos, and Cleombrotus in that of Neptune. As Leonidas ſeemed to be moſt exaſperated againſt the latter, he left Agis, and advanced at the head of a band of ſoldiers into the temple, where Cleombrotus had fled for refuge. He then reproached him with great warmth for aſſuming the regal power, in violation of the ties of affinity between them, and for expelling him from his own country in ſo ignominious a manner. Cleombrotus, who had nothing to anſwer to theſe reproaches, continued ſeated in a profound ſilence, and with an aſpect that ſufficiently teſtified his confuſion. His wife Chelonida ſtood near, with her two children at her feet. She had been equally unfortunate as a wife and daughter, but was equally faithful in each of theſe capacities, and had always adhered to the unfortunate. She had accompanied her father Leonidas during his exile, and now returned to her huſband, whom ſhe tenderly embraced, and at the ſame time became a ſupplicant for him with her father.

All thoſe who were then preſent, melted into tears at ſo moving a ſight, and were ſtruck with admiration at the virtue and tenderneſs of Chelonida, and the amiable force of conjugal love. This unfortunate princeſs, pointing to her mourning habit and diſhevelled treſſes, "Believe me, O my father," ſaid ſhe, "this "habit of woe which I now wear, this dejection which appears "in my countenance, and theſe ſorrows into which you ſee me "ſunk, are not the effects of that compaſſion I entertain for "Cleombrotus; but the ſad remains of my affliction for the "calamities you have ſuſtained, in your flight from Sparta. On "what, alas! ſhall I now reſolve! While you reign for the fu"ture in Sparta, and triumph over the enemies who oppoſed "you, ſhall I continue to live in the deſolate ſtate to which you "now ſee me reduced? Or is it my duty to array myſelf in "robes of royalty and magnificence, when I behold the huſband "I received from you in the flower of my youth, on the point

"of

" of perishing by your dagger? Should he be unable to disarm " your resentment, and move your soul to compassion, by the " tears of his wife and children, permit me to assure you, that " he will be punished with more severity for his imprudence, " than was even intended by yourself, when he shall see a wife " who is so dear to him expiring at his feet; for you are not to " think, that in my present condition I will ever consent to sur- " vive him. What appearance shall I make among the Spartan " ladies, after my inability to inspire my husband with compassion " for my father, and to soften my father into pity for my hus- " band! What indeed shall I appear to them, but a daughter " and a wife, always afflicted and contemned by her nearest re- " lations!" Chelonida, at the conclusion of these expressions, reclined her cheek on that of Cleombrotus, while with her eyes, that spoke her sorrow in their tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

Leonidas, after a few moments discourse with his friends, ordered Cleombrotus to rise, and immediately quit Sparta, but earnestly importuned his daughter to continue there, and not forsake a father who gave her such a peculiar proof of tenderness, as to spare the life of her husband. His solicitations were however ineffectual, and the moment Cleombrotus rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and clasped the other in her own; and when she had offered up her prayers to the goddess, and kissed her altar, she became a voluntary exile with her husband. How extremely affecting was this spectacle! and how worthy the admiration of all ages is such a model of conjugal love! If the heart of Cleombrotus, says Plutarch, had not been entirely depraved by vain glory, and a boundless ambition to reign, he would have been sensible, that even banishment itself, with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to the condition of a sovereign.

When Leonidas had expelled Cleombrotus from Sparta, and substituted new Ephori instead of the former, whom he had deposed, he bent all his endeavours to ensnare Agis, and began with persuading him to quit the asylum to which he had retired, and reign in conjunction with himself: in order to which he assured him, that his citizens had pardoned all past proceedings, because they were sensible that his youth and inexperience, with his predominant passion for glory, had laid him open to the insinuations of Agesilaus. But as Agis suspected the insincerity of those expressions, and persisted in his resolution to continue in the temple, Leonidas no longer attempted to deceive him with plausible pretences. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus,

who had frequently visited the young prince, continued their assiduities to him, and sometimes conducted him from the temple to the baths, and from thence conveyed him in safety to the temple; for each of them was his intimate friend.

This fidelity, however, was of no long continuance. Amphares had lately borrowed of Agesistrata, the mother of Agis, several rich suits of tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver plate. These costly ornaments tempted him to betray the king, with his mother and grandmother. It was even said, that he was much more inclinable than either of his two companions, to listen to the suggestions of Leonidas; and that no one was so industrious as himself to spirit up the Ephori, of whose number he was one, against Agis. As this prince went sometimes from the temple to the bath, they resolved to take that opportunity to surprise him; and when he was one day returning from thence, they advanced up to him, and after they had embraced him with an air of affection, they attended him in his way, and entertained him with their usual familiarity of conversation. One of the streets, through which they passed, turned off, in one quarter, to the prison, and as soon as they arrived at that passage, Amphares seized Agis with an air of authority, and cried, "Agis, I must conduct you to the Ephori, to whom you "are to be accountable for your behaviour." At the same instant, Democharcs, who was tall and strong, threw his mantle round his neck, and dragged him along, while the others pushed him forward, as they had previously agreed: and as no person came to assist him, because there was nobody in the street at that time, they accomplished their design, and threw him into prison.

Leonidas arrived at the same time with a great number of foreign soldiers, and surrounded the prison; the Ephori likewise came thither, and when they had sent for such of the senators as concurred with their opinion, they proceeded to examine Agis, as if he had been arraigned at a competent tribunal, and ordered him to justify himself, with respect to his intended innovations in the republic. One of the Ephori, pretending to have discovered an expedient for disengaging him from this criminal affair, asked him, whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not compelled him to have recourse to those measures? To which Agis replied, That he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion; but that his admiration of Lycurgus, and a sincere desire to imitate his conduct, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same condition in which that legislator had left it. The same officer then demanding of him, if he repented

pented of that proceeding, the young prince anſwered with an air of ſteadineſs, "That he never ſhould repent of ſo virtu-"ous, ſo noble, and glorious an undertaking, though death "itſelf were preſented to his view in all its terrors." His pretended judges then condemned him to die, and immediately commanded the public officers to carry him to that part of the priſon, where thoſe, on whom the ſentence of condemnation had paſſed, were uſually ſtrangled.

When Demochares ſaw that the officers of juſtice did not dare to lay their hands on Agis, and that even the foreign ſoldiers turned their eyes from ſuch a ſpectacle of horror, and refuſed to be aſſiſtant at ſo inhuman an execution, he loaded them with threats and reproaches, and with his own hands dragged Agis to the dungeon. The people, who by this time were informed of the manner in which he had been ſeized, crowded to the gates of the priſon, and began to be very tumultuous. The whole ſtreet was already illuminated with innumerable tapers; and the mother and grandmother of Agis ran from place to place, filling the air with their cries, and entreating the people that the king of Sparta might at leaſt have an opportunity to defend himſelf, and be judged by his own citizens. The zeal of the people did but animate the murderers the more to haſten the execution of Agis, leaſt he ſhould be releaſed by force that very night, if the people ſhould have ſufficient time allowed them for aſſembling together.

As the executioners were leading him to the place where they intended to ſtrangle him, he beheld tears flowing from the eyes of one of them, who was touched with his misfortune; upon which he turned to him, and ſaid, "Weep not for me, "my friend, for, as I am cut off in this manner contrary to all "laws and juſtice, I am much happier, and more to be envied, "than thoſe who have condemned me." When he had ſaid theſe words, he offered his neck to the fatal cord, without the leaſt air of reluctance.

As Amphares came from the priſon, at the cloſe of this tragic ſcene, the firſt object he beheld was the deſolate mother of Agis, who threw herſelf at his feet: he raiſed her from the earth, and aſſured her, that Agis had nothing to fear; entreating her at the ſame time, as a proof of his ſincerity, to enter the priſon and ſee her ſon. She then deſired him to permit her aged mother to attend her in that mournful viſit. "Your re-"queſt," ſaid he, "is reaſonable;" and he immediately conducted them into the priſon, but ordered the door to be ſhut the moment they entered it. He then commanded the executioner

ſeize Archidamia, the grandmother of Agis, who had lived to a venerable old age among her citizens, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady at her time. When the executioner had performed this fatal office, the inhuman Amphares ordered the mother of Agis to enter the dungeon. This unhappy princeſs was obliged to obey him, and the moment ſhe came into that diſmal place, ſhe beheld her ſon lying dead on the ground, and at a little diſtance from him, her dead mother, with the fatal cord ſtill twiſted about her neck. She aſſiſted the executioners in diſengaging her parent from that inſtrument of cruelty, after which ſhe laid the corpſe by her ſon, and decently covered it with linen. When this pious office was completed, ſhe caſt herſelf upon the body of Agis, and after ſhe had tenderly kiſſed his cold lips, "O my ſon," ſaid ſhe, "the exceſs of thy humanity and ſweet diſpoſition, and thy too great circumſpection and lenity, have undone thee, and been fatal to us!"

Amphares, who from the door had beheld and heard all that paſſed, entered that moment, and addreſſing himſelf with a ſavage air to the mother of Agis, "Since you knew," ſaid he, "and approved the deſigns of your ſon, you ſhall ſhare in his puniſhment." Ageſiſtrata roſe at thoſe words, and running at the fatal cord, "May this," cried ſhe, "at leaſt be uſeful to Sparta."

When the report of theſe executions was diſperſed through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies brought out of the priſon, the indignation occaſioned by this barbarity was univerſal, and every one declared, that from the time the Dorians had firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves in Peloponneſus, ſo horrible an action had never been committed. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that all the blackeſt crimes in nature united in the circumſtances which aggravated this; and we may even add too, that the murder of the king included and ſurpaſſed them all: ſo barbarous an execution, in oppoſition to that reſpect with which nature inſpires the moſt ſavage people for the ſacred perſon of their ſovereign, is ſuch a blemiſh on a nation, as all ſucceeding ages can never obliterate.

* Agis having been deſtroyed in this manner, Leonidas was not expeditious enough in ſeizing his brother Archidamus, who ſaved himſelf by flight; but he ſecured Agiatis, the conſort of that unhappy king, forcing her to reſide in his own houſe, with the young child ſhe had by him, and then compelled her to eſpouſe his ſon Cleomenes, who was not marriageable at that

* Plut. in Cleom. p. 805.

time;

time; but Leonidas was determined that the widow of Agis ſhould not be diſpoſed of to any other perſon, as ſhe inherited a very large eſtate from her father Gylippus, and likewiſe excelled all the Grecian ladies in beauty, as well as wiſdom and virtue. She endeavoured to avoid this marriage by all means in her power, but to no effect. And when ſhe at laſt was obliged to conſent to her nuptials with Cleomenes, ſhe always retained a mortal averſion for Leonidas, but behaved with the utmoſt complacency and ſoftneſs to her young ſpouſe, who, from the firſt day of his marriage, conceived a moſt ſincere and paſſionate eſteem and affection for her; and even ſymphathized with her in the tenderneſs ſhe preſerved for Agis, and the regard ſhe expreſſed for his memory, and that too in ſuch a degree, that he would frequently liſten to her with the greateſt attention, while ſhe related to him the great deſigns he had formed for the regulation of the government.

SECTION IV.

CLEOMENES ASCENDS THE THRONE OF SPARTA.—HE REFORMS THE GOVERNMENT, AND RE-ESTABLISHES THE ANCIENT DISCIPLINE.

Cleomenes had a noble ſoul*, and an ardent paſſion for glory, joined with the ſame inclination for temperance and ſimplicity of manners as Agis had always expreſſed; but had not that exceſſive ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, attended with the timidity and precaution of that prince. Nature, on the contrary, had infuſed into him a vigour and vivacity of mind, which ardently prompted him on to whatever appeared great and noble. Nothing ſeemed ſo amiable to him, as the government of his citizens agreeably to their own inclinations; but, at the ſame time, he did not think it inconſiſtent with the glory of a wiſe adminiſtration, to employ ſome violence in reducing to the public utility an inconſiderable number of obſtinate and unjuſt perſons, who oppoſed it merely from the view of private intereſt.

He was far from being ſatisfied with the ſtate of affairs which then prevailed in Sparta. All the citizens had long been ſoftened by indolence and a voluptuous life; and the king himſelf, who was fond of tranquillity, had entirely neglected public affairs. No perſon whatever had teſtified any regard for the public good, every individual being ſolely intent upon his particular intereſt, and the aggrandizement of his family at the public ex-

* Plut. in Cleom. p. 805—811.

pence,

pence. Inſtead of any care in diſciplining the young people, and forming their temperance, patience, and the equality of freemen, it was even dangerous to mention any thing of that nature, as Agis himſelf had periſhed by attempting to introduce it among them.

It is alſo ſaid, that Cleomenes, who was ſtill very young, had heard ſome philoſophical lectures at the time when Spherus, who came from the banks of the Boriſthenes, ſettled in Lacedæmon, and applied himſelf, in a very ſucceſsful manner, to the inſtruction of youth. This perſon was one of the principal diſciples of Zeno the Citian*. The ſtoic philoſophy, which he then profeſſed, was exceedingly proper to infuſe courage and noble ſentiments in the mind; but, at the ſame time, was capable of dangerous effects in a diſpoſition naturally warm and impetuous; and, on the other hand, might be rendered very beneficial, by being grafted on a mild and moderate character.

† After the death of Leonidas, who did not long ſurvive the condemnation and murder of Agis, his ſon Cleomenes ſucceeded him in the throne; and though he was then very young, it gave him pain to conſider that he had only the empty title of king, while the whole authority was engroſſed by the Ephori, who ſhamefully abuſed their power. He then grew ſolicitous to change the form of government; and as he was ſenſible that few perſons were diſpoſed to concur with him in that view, he imagined the accompliſhment of it would be facilitated by a war, and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who, very fortunately for his purpoſe, had given Sparta ſome occaſions of complaint againſt them.

Aratus, from the firſt moments of his adminiſtration, had been induſtrious to negotiate a league between all the ſtates of Peloponneſus, through a perſuaſion, that if he ſucceeded in that attempt, they would have nothing to fear for the future from a foreign enemy; and this was the only point to which all his meaſures tended. All the other ſtates, except the Lacedæmonians, the people of Elis, and thoſe of Arcadia, who had eſpouſed the party of the Lacedæmonians, had acceded to this league. Aratus, ſoon after the death of Leonidas, began to haraſs the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and at the ſame time to make it evident, that he deſpiſed Cleomenes, as a young man without the leaſt experience.

When the Ephori received intelligence of this act of hoſtility,

* So called from Citium, a city of Cyprus.

† A. M. 3762. Ant. J. C. 242.

they

they caused their troops to take the field, under the command of Cleomenes; they indeed were not numerous, but the consideration of the general by whom they were commanded inspired them with all imaginable ardour for the war. The Achæans marched against them with 20,000 foot and 1000 horse under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes came up with them near Pallantium, a city of Arcadia, and offered them battle; but Aratus was so intimidated with the bravery of this proceeding, that he prevailed upon the general not to hazard an engagement, and then made a retreat; which drew upon him very severe reproaches from his own troops, and sharp raillery from the enemy, whose numbers did not amount to 5000 men in the whole. The courage of Cleomenes was so much raised by this retreat, that he assumed a loftier air among his citizens, and reminded them of an expression used by one of their ancient kings, who said, "That the Lacedæmonians never inquired after the number of their enemies, but where they were." He afterwards defeated the Achæans in a second encounter; but Aratus, taking the advantage even of his defeat, like an experienced general, turned his arms immediately against Mantinea, and before the enemy could have any suspicion of his design, made himself master of that city, and put a garrison into it.

Cleomenes, after his return to Sparta, began to think seriously on the execution of his former design, and had credit enough to cause Archidamus, the brother of Agis, to be recalled from Messene. As that prince was descended from the other royal house of Sparta, he had an incontestable right to the crown; and Cleomenes was persuaded, that the authority of the Ephori would receive a much greater diminution, when the throne of Sparta should be filled by its two kings, whose union would enable them to counterbalance their power. But, unhappily for his purpose, the same persons, who had been guilty of the death of Agis, found means to assassinate his brother Archidamus*.

Cleomenes, soon after this event, gained a new advantage over the Achæans, in an action near Megalopolis, wherein Lysiades was slain, in consequence of engaging too far in the pursuit of the Lacedæmonians, who had been repulsed when the encounter first began. This victory was very honourable to the young king, and increased his reputation to a great degree. He then

* Polybius declares, that Cleomenes himself caused him to be assassinated, l. v. p. 383. et l. viii. p. 511.

imparted

imparted his deſign to a ſmall number of ſelect and faithful friends, who ſerved him in a very ſeaſonable manner. When he returned to Sparta, he concerted his march ſo as to enter the city when the Ephori were at ſupper; at which time, a ſet of perſons who had been choſen for that action entered the hall with their drawn ſwords, and killed four of theſe magiſtrates*, with 10 of thoſe who had taken arms for their defence. Ageſilaus, who had been left for dead on the ſpot, found means to ſave himſelf; after which no other perſon whatever ſuſtained any violence; and, indeed, what had been already committed was ſufficient.

The next day, Cleomenes cauſed the names of 80 citizens, whom he intended to baniſh, to be fixed up in places of public reſort. He alſo removed from the hall of audience all the ſeats of the Ephori, except one, where he determined to place himſelf, in order to render juſtice; and after he had convoked an aſſembly of the people, he explained to them his reaſons for the conduct he had purſued; repreſenting to them, in what an enormous manner the Ephori had abuſed their power, by ſuppreſſing all lawful authority, and not only baniſhing their kings, but even in cauſing them to be deſtroyed without the leaſt form of juſtice; and menacing thoſe who were deſirous of beholding Sparta happy in the moſt excellent and moſt divine form of government. He then added, that the conduct he purſued, rendered it ſufficiently evident, that, inſtead of conſulting his own particular intereſt, his whole endeavours were employed to promote that of the citizens, and revive among them the diſcipline and equality which the wiſe Lycurgus had formerly eſtabliſhed, and from whence Sparta had derived all her glory and reputation.

When he had expreſſed himſelf in this manner, he immediately conſigned his whole eſtate to the people as their common property, and was ſeconded in that action by Megiſtones, his father-in-law, who was very rich. The reſt of his friends, in conjunction with all the other citizens, then complied with this example, and the lands were diſtributed agreeably to the intended plan. He even aſſigned a portion to each of thoſe who had been baniſhed, and promiſed to recall them as ſoon as affairs could be ſettled in a ſtate of tranquillity. He then filled up the proper number of citizens with perſons of the beſt character in all the adjacent parts, and raiſed 4000 foot, whom he taught to uſe lances inſtead of javelins, and to wear bucklers with good

* This magiſtracy was compoſed of five Ephori.

handles,

handles, and not with leather ſtraps buckled on, as had before been the cuſtom.

His next cares were devoted to the education of children; in order to which he endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh the Laconic diſcipline, wherein the philoſopher Spherus was very aſſiſtant to him. The exerciſes and public meals ſoon reſumed their ancient order and gravity; moſt of the citizens voluntarily embracing this wiſe, noble, and regular method of life, to which the reſt, whoſe number was very inconſiderable, were ſoon obliged to conform. In order alſo to ſoften the name of monarch, and to avoid exaſperating the citizens, he appointed his brother Euclidas king with him; which is the firſt inſtance of the adminiſtration of the Spartan government by two kings of the ſame houſe at one time.

Cleomenes, believing that Aratus and the Achæans were perſuaded he would not preſume to quit Sparta, amidſt the diſſatisfactions occaſioned by the novelties he had introduced in the government, thought nothing could be more honourable and advantageous to him, than to let them ſee how much he was eſteemed by his troops, and beloved by his citizens, and what confidence he entertained that the new changes had not alienated the minds of the people from him. He firſt advanced into the territories of Megalopolis; where his troops committed great devaſtations, and gained a very conſiderable booty. To theſe ravages he added inſults, cauſing public games and ſhows to be exhibited for the ſpace of a whole day, in the ſight of the enemy; not that he had any real ſatisfaction in ſuch a conduct, but only intended to convince them, by this contemptuous bravado, how much he aſſured himſelf of being victorious over them.

Though it was very cuſtomary, in thoſe times, to ſee troops of comedians and dancers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from all ſuch diſſolute proceedings. The youths of his army paſſed the greateſt part of their time in exerciſing themſelves, and the old men were induſtrious to form and inſtruct them. Their very relaxations from thoſe employments were devoted to inſtructive and familiar converſations, ſeaſoned with fine and delicate railleries, which were always modeſt, and never rendered offenſive by injurious reflections. In a word, they were entirely conformable to the laws by which the wiſe legiſlator of Sparta had been careful to regulate converſations.

Cleomenes himſelf appeared like the maſter who thus formed the citizens, not ſo much by his diſcourſe, as his example in leading

leading a frugal life, which had nothing in it ſuperior to that of the meaneſt of his ſubjects: an affecting model of wiſdom and abſtinence, which facilitated beyond expreſſion his accompliſhment of the great things he performed in Greece: for thoſe whoſe affairs carried them to the courts of other kings, did not admire their riches and magnificence, ſo much as they deteſted their imperious pride, and the haughtineſs with which they treated thoſe who approached them. On the contrary, no ſuch offenſive manners were ever experienced in the court of Cleomenes. He appeared in a very plain habit, and almoſt without officers: the audiences he gave, were as long as the people who applied to him could deſire: he gave all manner of perſons a very agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of auſterity. This affable and engaging behaviour gained him the univerſal love and veneration of his people, in which the true grandeur and merit of a king undoubtedly conſiſt.

His table was extremely ſimple and frugal, and truly laconic. No muſic was ever introduced there; nor did any one deſire it, as his converſation well ſupplied its place; and it is certain that thoſe who are capable of diſcourſing well, may paſs their time very agreeably without hearing ſongs. Cleomenes never failed to enliven thoſe repaſts, either by propoſing curious and important queſtions, or relating ſome uſeful and agreeable piece of hiſtory; ſeaſoning the whole with a delicate vein of wit and gaiety. He thought it neither an argument of a prince's merit or glory to attach men to his intereſt by the attractions of riches, and ſplendid tables; whereas the ability of gaining their hearts by the amiable power of diſcourſe, and the charms of a commerce, in which freedom of thought and ſincerity of manners always prevailed, was conſidered by him as a truly royal quality.

* This affable and engaging diſpoſition of Cleomenes ſecured him the affection of all the troops, and inſpired them with ſuch an ardour for his ſervice, as ſeemed to have rendered them invincible. He took ſeveral places from the Achæans, ravaged the territories of their allies, and advanced almoſt as far as Pheræ, with intention either to give them battle, or diſcredit Aratus as a puſillanimous leader, who had fled from his enemy, and abandoned all their flat country to be plundered. The Achæans having taken the field with all their troops, and encamped in the territories of Dymæ, Cleomenes followed them thither, and haraſſed them perpetually with ſo much intrepidity,

* A. M. 3776. Ant. J. C. 228.

as at last compelled them to come to a battle, wherein he obtained a complete victory; for he put their army to flight, killed abundance of men, and took a great number of prisoners.

* The Achæans were extremely dejected at these severe losses, and began to be apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta, especially if she should happen to be supported by the Ætolians, according to the rumour which then prevailed. Aratus, who had usually been elected general every other year, refused to charge himself with that commission when he was chosen again, and Timoxenes was substituted in his stead. The Achæans severely censured the conduct of Aratus on this occasion, and with great justice, as he, who was considered by them as their pilot, had now abandoned the helm of his vessel amidst a threatening tempest, wherein it would have been proper and glorious for him to have seized it into his own hands, even by force, in imitation of several great examples related in history, and when he ought to have been solely solicitous to save the state at the expence of his own life. If he had even despaired of retrieving the affairs of the Achæans, he ought rather to have submitted to Cleomenes, who was a Grecian by birth, and king of Sparta, than to call in the assistance of foreigners, and make them masters of Peloponnesus, as will soon appear to have been the event: jealousy, however, extinguishes all prudent reflections, and is a malady not to be cured by reason alone.

The Achæans being reduced to the last extremities†, and especially after the loss of the last battle, sent ambassadors to Cleomenes to negotiate a peace. The king seemed at first determined to impose very rigid terms upon them, but afterwards dispatched an embassy on his part, and only demanded to be appointed general of the Achæan league, promising, on that condition, to accommodate all differences between them, and restore the prisoners and places he had taken from them. The Achæans, who were very inclinable to accept of peace on those terms, desired Cleomenes to be present at Lerna, where they were to hold a general assembly, in order to conclude the treaty. The king set out accordingly for that place, but an unexpected accident which happened to him prevented the interview, and Aratus endeavoured to improve it in such a manner as to hinder the negotiation from being renewed. He imagined, that as he had possessed the chief authority in the Achæan league for the

* Plut. in Cleom. p. 811. Idem. in Arat. p. 1044.
† A. M. 3777. Ant. J. C. 227.

ſpace of 33 years, it would be very diſhonourable in him to ſuffer a young man to graft himſelf upon him, and diveſt him of all his glory and power, by ſupplanting him in a command he had acquired, augmented, and retained for ſo many years. Theſe conſiderations induced him to uſe all his efforts to diſſuade the Achæans from the conditions propoſed to them by Cleomenes: but as he had the mortification to find himſelf incapable of conciliating them with this view, becauſe they dreaded the bravery and uncommon ſucceſs of Cleomenes, and likewiſe thought the Lacedæmonians were very reaſonable in their intentions to reſtore Peloponneſus to its ancient ſtate, he had recourſe to an expedient which no Grecian ought to have approved, and was extremely diſhonourable in a man of his rank and character. His deſign was to call in the aſſiſtance of Antigonus, king of Macedonia, and by inevitable conſequence make him maſter of Greece.

* He had not forgotten that Antigonus had great cauſe to be diſſatisfied with his former proceedings: but he was ſenſible, that princes may be properly ſaid to have neither friends nor enemies, and that they form their ſentiments of things by the ſtandard of their own intereſt. He, however, would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, nor propoſe it as from himſelf, becauſe he knew that if it ſhould happen to prove unſucceſsful, he muſt inevitably incur all the odium; and beſides it would be making a plain declaration to the Achæans, that if he had not abſolutely deſpaired of retrieving their affairs, he would not adviſe them to have recourſe to their profeſſed enemy. He therefore concealed his real views, like an artful and experienced politician, and proceeded by indirect and ſecret methods. As the city of Megalopolis was neareſt in ſituation to Sparta, it lay moſt expoſed to the incurſions of the enemy, and the inhabitants began to think themſelves ſufficient ſufferers by the war, as the Achæans were ſo far from being in a condition to ſupport them, that they were unable to defend themſelves. Nicophanes and Cercides, two citizens of Megalopolis, whom Aratus had brought over to his ſcheme, made a propoſal in the council of that city, for demanding permiſſion of the Achæans to implore the aſſiſtance of Antigonus. This motion was immediately aſſented to, and the Achæans granted them the permiſſion they deſired. Theſe two citizens were then deputed to be the meſſengers of that propoſal, and Aratus had been careful to furniſh them with ſufficient inſtructions beforehand. When

* Polyb. l. ii. p. 133—140.

they

they received audience of Antigonus, they lightly touched upon the particulars which related to their city, and then ſtrongly inſiſted, in conformity to their inſtructions, on the imminent danger to which the king himſelf would be expoſed, ſhould the alliance which was then talked of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes take effect. They then repreſented to him, that if the united forces of thoſe two ſtates ſhould have thoſe advantages over the Achæans which they expected to obtain, the towering ambition of Cleomenes would never be ſatisfied with the mere conqueſt of Peloponneſus, as it was evident that he aſpired at the empire of all Greece, which it would be impoſſible for him to ſeize, without entirely deſtroying the authority of the Macedonians. To theſe remonſtrances they added, that if the Ætolians ſhould not happen to join Cleomenes, the Achæans would be capable of ſupporting themſelves with their own forces, and ſhould have no cauſe to trouble the king with their importunities for his aſſiſtance; but if, on the other hand, fortune ſhould prove averſe to them, and permit the confederacy between thoſe two ſtates to take effect, they muſt then entreat him not to be an unconcerned ſpectator of the ruin of Peloponneſus, which might even be attended with fatal conſequences to himſelf. They alſo took care to inſinuate to the king, that Aratus would enter into all his meaſures, and give him, in due time, ſufficient ſecurity for his own fidelity and good intentions.

Antigonus highly approved all theſe repreſentations, and ſeized with pleaſure the opportunity that was now offered him for engaging in the affairs of Greece. This had always been the policy of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, who, by declaring themſelves kings, had converted the frame of their reſpective governments into monarchy. They were ſenſible that it nearly concerned them to oppoſe all ſuch ſtates as had any inclination to retain their liberty, and the form of popular government; and wherever they found themſelves in no condition to extinguiſh theſe, they attempted to weaken them at leaſt, and to render the people incapable of forming any conſiderable enterpriſes, by ſowing the ſeeds of diviſion between republics and free ſtates, and engaging them in wars againſt each other, in order to render themſelves neceſſary to them, and prevent their ſhaking off the Macedonian yoke, by uniting their forces. Polybius*, ſpeaking of one of theſe princes, declares in expreſs terms,

* Lib. ii. p. 131.

that he paid large penſions to ſeveral tyrants in Greece, who were profeſſed enemies to liberty.

It cannot therefore be thought ſurpriſing, that Antigonus ſhould prove ſo tractable to the ſolicitations and demands of the Megalopolitans. He wrote them an obliging letter, wherein he promiſed to aſſiſt them, provided the Achæans would conſent to that proceeding. The inhabitants of Megalopolis were tranſported at the happy reſult of their negotiation, and immediately diſpatched the ſame deputies to the general aſſembly of the Achæans, in order to inform that people of the good intentions of Antigonus, and to preſs them to put their intereſts immediately into his hands.

Aratus did not fail to congratulate himſelf in private for the maſterly ſtroke by which he had ſucceeded in his intrigue, and to find Antigonus not poſſeſſed with any impreſſions to his prejudice, as he had reaſon to apprehend. He wiſhed, indeed, to have had no occaſion for his aſſiſtance; and though neceſſity obliged him to have recourſe to that prince, he was willing to guard againſt the imputation of thoſe meaſures, and for having them ſeem to have been concerted by the Achæans, without any privity of his.

When the deputies from Megalopolis were introduced into the aſſembly, they read the letter of Antigonus, and related all the particulars of the obliging reception he had given them; with the affection and eſteem he had expreſſed for the Achæans, and the advantageous offers he made them. They concluded with deſiring, in name of their city, that the Achæans would invite Antigonus to be preſent as ſoon as poſſible in their aſſembly; and every one ſeemed to approve of that motion. Aratus then roſe up, and after he had repreſented the voluntary goodneſs of the king in the ſtrongeſt light, and commended the ſentiments that prevailed in the aſſembly; he intimated to them, that there was no neceſſity for precipitating any thing; that it would be very honourable for the republic to endeavour to terminate her wars by her own forces, and that if any calamitous accident ſhould render her incapable of doing ſo, it would then be time enough to have recourſe to her friends. This advice was generally approved; and it was concluded, that the Achæans ſhould employ only their own forces in ſupporting the preſent war.

* The events of it were, however, very unfavourable to them;

* A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Plut. in Cleom. p. 814, 815. Plut. in Arat. p. 1047.

for

for Cleomenes made himſelf maſter of ſeveral cities of Peloponneſus *, of which Argos was the moſt conſiderable, and at laſt ſeized Corinth †, but not the citadel. The Achæans had then no longer time for deliberation; Antigonus was called in to their aſſiſtance, and they came to a reſolution to deliver up the citadel to him, without which he would never have engaged in that expedition; for he wanted a place of ſtrength, and there was none which ſuited him ſo effectually as that, as well on account of its advantageous ſituation between two ſeas, as its fortifications, which rendered it almoſt impregnable. Aratus ſent his ſon to Antigonus among the other hoſtages. That prince advanced by long marches with an army of 20,000 foot and 1400 horſe. Aratus ſet out by ſea with the principal officers of the league, to meet Antigonus at the city of Pegæ, unknown to the enemy; and when that prince was informed of his arrival in perſon, he advanced to him, and rendered him all the honours due to a general of diſtinguiſhed rank and merit.

Cleomenes, inſtead of attempting to defend the paſſage of the Iſthmus, thought it more adviſeable to throw up trenches, and raiſe ſtrong walls to fortify the paſſes of the Onian mountains ‡, and to haraſs the enemy by frequent attacks, rather than hazard a battle with ſuch well-diſciplined and warlike troops. This conduct of the king of Sparta reduced Antigonus to great extremities, for he had not provided himſelf with any conſiderable quantity of proviſions, and found it not very practicable to force the paſſes defended by Cleomenes: the only expedient therefore to which Antigonus could have recourſe in this perplexity, was to advance to the promontory of Heræa, and from thence to tranſport his army by ſea to Sicyon, which would require a conſiderable ſpace of time, as well as great preparations, which could not eaſily be made.

§ While Antigonus was embarraſſed in this manner, ſome friends of Aratus arrived at his camp, one night, by ſea, and informed him, that the people of Argos had revolted againſt Cleomenes, and were then beſieging the citadel. Aratus having likewiſe received 1500 men from Antigonus, ſet out by ſea, and arrived at Epidaurus.

* Caphyes, Pellene, Pheneus, Phlionte, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, Træzene.

† A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

‡ Theſe were a ridge of mountains which extended from the rocks of Sciron, in the road of Attica, as far as Bœotia, and mount Citheron.—Strab. l. viii.

§ A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of these proceedings about nine or ten in the evening, immediately detached Megistones with 2000 men, to succour his party at Argos as soon as possible; after which he industriously watched the motions of Antigonus; and to animate the Corinthians, assured them that the disorders which had lately happened at Argos, were no more than a slight commotion, excited by a few mutinous persons, which would easily be suppressed. In this, however, he was deceived; for Megistones having been slain in a skirmish, as soon as he entered Argos, the Lacedæmonian garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and several couriers had been sent from those troops to demand immediate assistance from the Spartan army. Cleomenes being then apprehensive that the enemy, if they should happen to make themselves masters of Argos, would shut up all the passes against him, by which means they would be in a condition to ravage all Laconia with impunity, and even to form the siege of Sparta, which would then be without defence; he therefore thought it advisable to decamp, and marched with all his army from Corinth.

Antigonus, soon after this retreat of the Lacedæmonians, entered the place, and secured it to himself with a good garrison. Cleomenes in the mean time arrived at Argos before the revolters had any suspicion of his approach, and at first succeeded so far, as to scale several parts of the town, where he forced some of the enemy's troops to save themselves by flight; but Aratus having entered the city on one side, and king Antigonus appearing with all his troops on the other, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

During the continuance of his march, he received advice in the evening from couriers at Tegea, which affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. They acquainted him with the death of his consort Agiatis, from whom he had never been able to absent himself a whole campaign, even when his expeditions were most successful; and such was his tenderness and esteem for her, that it had always been customary for him to make frequent returns to Sparta to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning he renewed his march by dawn, and arrived early at Sparta; where, after he had devoted some moments in pouring out his sorrows to his mother and children in his own house, he resumed the management of public affairs.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy, who had promised to assist him in the war, sent to him to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was a long time before Cleomenes could presume to acquaint his parent with the king of Egypt's demand;

demand; and though he frequently went to visit her with an intention to explain himself to her, he never had resolution enough to enter upon the subject. His mother, observing the perplexity in which he appeared, began to entertain some suspicion of the cause: for mothers have usually a great share of penetration with reference to their children. She inquired of those who were most intimate with him, whether her son did not desire something from her, which he could not prevail upon himself to communicate to her? And when Cleomenes had at last the resolution to open the affair to her: "How, my son, said she with a smile, "is this the secret you wanted courage to "disclose to me? Why, in the name of heaven, did you not "immediately cause me to be put on board some vessel, and sent, "without a moment's delay, to any part of the world, where my "person may be useful to Sparta, before old age consumes and "destroys it in languor and inaction!"

When the preparations for her voyage were completed, Cratesiclea (for so the mother of Cleomenes was called) took her son apart a few moments before she entered the vessel, and led him into the temple of Neptune. There she held him a great while clasped in her arms, and after she had bathed his face with a tender flow of tears, she recommended the liberty and honour of his country to his care. When she saw him weep, in the excess of his anguish at that melancholy parting: "King of Lacedæmon," said she, "let us dry our tears, that no person, when we "quit the temple, may see us weep, or do any thing unworthy "of Sparta. For this is in our power; events are in the hands "of God." When she had expressed herself to this effect, she composed her countenance, led her infant grandson to the ship, and commanded the pilot to sail that moment from the port.

As soon as she arrived at Egypt, she was informed that Ptolemy, having received an embassy from Antigonus, was satisfied with the proposals made by that prince; and she had likewise intelligence, that her son Cleomenes was solicited by the Achæans to conclude a treaty between them and Sparta, but that he durst not put an end to the war without the consent of Ptolemy, because he was apprehensive for his mother, who was then in the power of that king. When she had been fully instructed in these particulars, she sent express orders to her son, to transact, without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would prove beneficial and glorious to Sparta, and not to suffer himself to be disconcerted by his apprehensions of the treatment an ancient woman and a little infant might sustain from Ptolemy. Such were the sentiments which even the women of Sparta thought it their glory to cherish!

Antigonus

* Antigonus, in the mean time, having made himself master of Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomene, and several other cities, Cleomenes, who was then reduced to the necessity of defending Laconia, permitted all the helots who were capable of paying five minæ (about L. 10 sterling) to purchase their freedom. From this contribution he raised 500 talents (about L. 125,000 sterling) and armed 2000 of these helots after the Macedonian manner, in order to oppose them to the Leucaspides of Antigonus. He then formed an enterprise, which certainly no one could have expected from him. The city of Megalopolis was very considerable at that time, and even not inferior to Sparta in power and extent. Cleomenes concerted measures for surprising this city, and to take it without any opposition; and as Antigonus had sent most of his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia, while he himself continued at Egium, to assist in the assembly of the Achæans, the king of Sparta justly supposed, that the garrison of the city could not be very strong at that time, nor their guards very strict in their duty, as they were not apprehensive of any insult from an enemy so weak as himself; and consequently, that if he proceeded with expedition in his design, Antigonus, who was then at the distance of three days march from the place, would be incapable of affording it any assistance. The event succeeded according to the plan he had projected; for as he arrived at the city by night, he scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without any opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before their enemies had any thoughts of pursuing them; and Antigonus was not informed of this accident, till it was too late to retrieve it.

Cleomenes, out of a generosity of mind which has few examples in history, sent a herald to acquaint the people of Megalopolis, that he would restore them the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the Achæan league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with Sparta; but as advantageous as this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it, but rather chose to be deprived of their estates, as well as of the monuments of their ancestors, and the temples of their gods; in a word, to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the faith they had sworn to their allies. The famous Philopœmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to mention in the sequel of this

* A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149. Plut. in Cleom. p. 815—817. Id. in Arat. p. 1048.

history,

hiſtory, and who was then at Meſſene, contributed not a little to this generous reſolution. Who could ever expect to diſcover ſo much greatneſs of ſoul, and ſuch a noble caſt of thought, from the very dregs of Greece, for by that name the times of which we now treat may juſtly be deſcribed, when we compare them with the glorious ages of Greece united and triumphant, when even the luſtre of its victories was loſt in the ſplendor of its virtues!

This refuſal of the Magalopolitans highly enraged Cleomenes, who, till the moment he received their anſwer, had not only ſpared the city, but had even been careful to prevent the ſoldiers from committing the leaſt diſorder; but his anger was then inflamed to ſuch a degree, that he abandoned the place to pillage, and ſent all the ſtatues and pictures to his own city. He alſo demoliſhed the greateſt part of the walls, with the ſtrongeſt quarters, and then marched his troops back to Sparta. The deſolation of the city extremely afflicted the Achæans, who conſidered their inability to aſſiſt ſuch faithful allies as a crime for which they ought to reproach themſelves.

This people were ſoon ſenſible, that by imploring the aid of Antigonus, they had ſubjected themſelves to an imperious maſter, who made their liberties the price of his aid. He compelled them to paſs a decree, which prohibited them from writing to any king, or ſending an embaſſy without his permiſſion; and he obliged them to furniſh proviſions and pay for the garriſon he had put into the citadel of Corinth, which, in reality, was making them pay for their own chains, for this citadel was the very place which kept them in ſubjection. They had abandoned themſelves to ſlavery in ſo abject a manner, as even to offer ſacrifices and libations, and exhibit public games in honour of Antigonus; and Aratus was no longer regarded by them. Antigonus ſet up in Argos all the ſtatues of thoſe tyrants which Aratus had thrown down, and deſtroyed all thoſe which had been erected in honour of the perſons who ſurpriſed the citadel of Corinth, except one, which was that of Aratus himſelf; and all the entreaties of this general could not prevail upon the king to deſiſt from ſuch a proceeding. The ſight of theſe tranſactions gave him the utmoſt anxiety; but he was no longer maſter of affairs, and ſuffered a juſt puniſhment for ſubjecting himſelf and his country to a foreign yoke. Antigonus alſo took the city of Mantinea, and when he had moſt inhumanly murdered a great number of the citizens, and ſold the reſt into captivity, he abandoned the place to the Argives, in order to its being repeopled by them, and even charged Aratus with that commiſſion,

commiſſion, who had the meanneſs to call this newly inhabited city * by the name of him who had ſhown himſelf its moſt cruel enemy. A ſad, and, at the ſame time, a ſalutary example, which ſhows that when once a perſon has conſented to ſtoop to a ſtate of ſervitude, he ſees himſelf daily compelled to deſcend lower, without knowing where or how to ſtop.

Aratus, by employing his own endeavours to load his republic with ſhackles, was guilty of an unpardonable crime, the enormity of which no great quality nor any ſhining action can ever extenuate. He acted thus merely through jealouſy of his rival Cleomenes, whoſe glory, and the ſuperiority that young prince had obtained over him by the ſucceſs of his arms, were inſupportable to him. What, ſays Plutarch, did Cleomenes demand of the Achæans, as the ſole preliminary to the peace he offered them? Was it not their election of him for their general? And did he not demand that with a view to complete the welfare of their cities, and ſecure to them the enjoyment of their liberties, as a teſtimony of his gratitude for ſo ſignal an honour, and ſo glorious a title? If, therefore, continues Plutarch, it had been abſolutely neceſſary for them to have choſen either Cleomenes or Antigonus (or, in other words, a Greek or a Barbarian, for the Macedonians were conſidered as ſuch); in a word, if they were obliged to have a maſter, would not the meaneſt citizen of Sparta have been preferable to the greateſt of the Macedonians, at leaſt in the opinion of thoſe who had any regard to the honour and reputation of Greece? Jealouſy, however, extinguiſhed all thoſe ſentiments in the mind of Aratus; ſo difficult is it to behold ſuperior merit with an eye of ſatisfaction and tranquillity.

Aratus, therefore, that he might not ſeem to ſubmit to Cleomenes, nor conſent that a king of Sparta, deſcended from Hercules, and a king who had lately re-eſtabliſhed the ancient diſcipline of that city, ſhould add to his other titles, that of captain-general of the Achæans, called in a ſtranger, to whom he had formerly profeſſed himſelf a mortal enemy; in conſequence of which he filled Peloponneſus with thoſe very Macedonians, whom he had made it his glory to expel from thence in his youth. He even threw himſelf at their feet, and all Achaia, by his example, fell proſtrate before them, as an indication of their promptitude to accompliſh the commands of their imperious maſters. In a word, from a man accuſtomed to liberty, he became an abject and ſervile flatterer; he had the baſeneſs to offer

* Antigonia.

ſacrifices

facrifices to Antigonus, and placed himſelf at the head of a proceſſion crowned with chaplets of flowers, joining at the ſame time in hymns to the honour of that prince, and rendering by theſe low adulations that homage to a mortal man, which none but the divinity can claim, and even to a man who then carried death in his boſom, and was ready to ſink into putrefaction; for he at that time was reduced to the laſt extremity by a ſlow conſumption. Aratus was, however, a man of great merit in other reſpects, and had ſhown himſelf to be an extraordinary perſon, altogether worthy of Greece. In him, ſays Plutarch, we ſee a deplorable inſtance of human frailty; which, amidſt the luſtre of ſo many rare and excellent qualities, could not form the plan of a virtue exempted from blame.

* We have already obſerved, that Antigonus had ſent his troops into winter-quarters in Macedonia. Cleomenes, at the return of ſpring, formed an enterprife, which, in the opinion of the vulgar, was the reſult of temerity and folly; but, according to Polybius, a competent judge in affairs of that nature, it was concerted with all imaginable prudence and ſagacity. As he was ſenſible that the Macedonians were diſperſed in their quarters, and that Antigonus paſſed the winter ſeaſon with his friends at Argos, without any other guard than an inconſiderable number of foreign troops, he made an irruption into the territories of Argos, in order to lay them waſte. He conceived, at the ſame time, that if Antigonus ſhould be ſo much affected with the apprehenſions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, he would certainly be defeated; and that, on the other hand, if he ſhould decline fighting, he would loſe all his reputation with the Achæans, while the Spartans, on the contrary, would be rendered more daring and intrepid. The event ſucceeded according to his expectations; for as the whole country was ruined by the devaſtations of his troops, the people of Argos, in their rage and impatience, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gate, and with a murmuring tone preſſed the king either to give the enemy battle, or reſign the command of his troops to thoſe who were leſs timorous than himſelf. Antigonus, on the other hand, who had ſo much of the prudence and preſence of mind eſſential to a great general, as to be ſenſible that the diſhonourable part of one in his ſtation, did not conſiſt in hearing himſelf reproached, but in expoſing himſelf raſhly, and without reaſon, and in quitting certainties for chance, refuſed to take the field, and perſiſted in his reſolution not to fight. Cleo-

* Plut. in Cleom. p. 816, 817. Polyb. l. ii. p. 149.

menes

menes therefore led up his troops to the walls of Argos, and when he had laid the flat country waſte, marched his army back to Sparta.

This expedition redounded very much to his honour, and even obliged his enemies to confeſs that he was an excellent general, and a perſon of the higheſt merit and capacity in the conduct of the moſt arduous affairs. In a word, they could never ſufficiently admire his manner of oppoſing the forces of a ſingle city to the whole power of the Macedonians, united with that of Peloponneſus, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſupplies which had been furniſhed by the king; and eſpecially when they conſidered that he had not only preſerved Laconia free from all inſults, but had even penetrated into the territories of his enemies, where he ravaged the country, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral great cities. This they were perſuaded could not be the effect of any ordinary abilities in the art of war, nor of any common magnanimity of ſoul. A misfortune however unhappily prevented him from reinſtating Sparta in her ancient power, as will be evident in the ſequel.

SECTION V.

BATTLE OF SELASIA, WHEREIN ANTIGONUS DEFEATS CLEOMENES.—A GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT RHODES.

The Macedonians and Achæans * having quitted their quarters in the ſummer ſeaſon, Antigonus put himſelf at the head of them, and advanced into Laconia. His army was compoſed of 28,000 foot, and 1200 horſe; but that of Cleomenes did not amount to more than 20,000 men. As the latter of theſe two princes expected an irruption from the enemy, he had fortified all the paſſes, by poſting detachments of his troops in them, and by throwing up intrenchments, and cutting down trees, after which he formed his camp at Selaſia. He imagined, and with good reaſon too, that the enemy would endeavour to force a paſſage into that country through this avenue, in which he was not deceived. This defile was formed by two mountains, one of which had the name of Eva, and the other that of Olympus. The river Œneus ran between them, on the banks of which was the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of theſe mountains, poſted his brother Euclidas on the eminence of Eva, at the head of the allies, and

* A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Polyb. l. ii. p. 150—154. Plut. in Cleom p. 818, 819. Ibid. in Philop. p. 358.

planted

planted himself on Olympus, with the Lacedæmonians, and a party of the foreign troops, placing, at the same time, along each bank of the river, a detachment of the cavalry and foreign auxiliaries.

Antigonus, when he arrived there, saw all the passes fortified, and was sensible, by the manner in which Cleomenes had posted his troops, that he had neglected no precaution for defending himself and attacking his enemies, and that he had formed his camp into such an advantageous disposition, as rendered all approaches to it extremely difficult. All this abated his ardour for a battle, and caused him to encamp at a small distance, where he had an opportunity of covering his troops with a rivulet. He continued there for several days, in order to view the situation of the different posts, and found the disposition of the people who composed the enemy's army. Sometimes he seemed to be forming designs, which kept the enemy in suspence how to act. They however were always upon their guard, and the situation of each army equally secured them from insults. At last both sides resolved upon a decisive battle.

It is not easy to comprehend why Cleomenes, who was posted so advantageously at that time, and whose troops were inferior to those of the enemy by one-third, but were secure of a free communication in their rear with Sparta, from whence they might easily be supplied with provisions, should resolve, without the least apparent necessity, to hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon.

Polybius indeed seems to intimate the cause of this proceeding, when he observes, that Ptolemy caused Cleomenes to be acquainted, that he no longer would supply him with money, and exhorted him at the same time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus. As Cleomenes therefore was incapable of defraying the expence of this war, and was not only in arrear with his foreign troops to the amount of a very considerable sum, but found it extremely difficult to maintain his Spartan forces, we may consequently suppose that this situation of his affairs was his inducement to venture a battle.

When the signals were given on each side, Antigonus detached a body of troops, consisting of Macedonian and Illyrian battalions alternately disposed, against those of the enemy, posted on mount Eva. His second line consisted of Acarnanians and Cretans, and in the rear of these, 2000 Achæans were drawn up as a body of reserve. He drew up his cavalry along the bank of the river, in order to confront those of the enemy, and caused them to be supported by 1000 of the Achæan foot, and the

ſame number of Megalopolitans. He then placed himſelf at the head of the Macedonians, and the light-armed foreign troops, and advanced to mount Olympus to attack Cleomenes. The foreigners were diſpoſed into the firſt line, and marched immediately before the Macedonian phalanx, which was divided into two bodies, the one in the rear of the other, becauſe the ground would not admit their forming a larger front.

The action began at mount Eva, when the light-armed troops, who had been poſted with an intention to cover and ſupport the cavalry of Cleomenes, obſerving that the remoteſt cohorts of the Achæan forces were uncovered, immediately wheeled about and attacked them in the rear. Thoſe who endeavoured to gain the ſummit of the mountain, found themſelves vigorouſly preſſed by the enemy, and in great danger, being threatened in front by Euclidas, who was in a higher ſituation, at the ſame time that they were charged in their rear by the foreign troops, who aſſaulted them with the utmoſt impetuoſity. Philopœmen and his citizens were poſted among the cavalry of Antigonus, who were ſupported by the Illyrians, and had orders not to move from that poſt till a particular ſignal ſhould be given. Philopœmen obſerving that it would not be difficult to fall upon this light infantry of Euclidas, and rout them entirely, and that this was the critical moment for the charge, immediately communicated his opinion to ſuch of the king's officers as commanded the cavalry. They, however, would not ſo much as hear him, merely becauſe he had never commanded, and was then very young; and even treated what he ſaid as a chimera. Philopœmen was not diverted from his purpoſe by that uſage, but at the head of his own citizens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him, he attacked and repulſed that body of infantry with great ſlaughter.

The Macedonians and Illyrians, being diſengaged by this operation from what before had retarded their motions, boldly marched up the hill to their enemies. Euclidas was then to engage with a phalanx, whoſe whole force conſiſted in the ſtrict union of its parts, the cloſeneſs of its ranks, the ſteady and equal force of its numerous and pointed ſpears, and the uniform impetuoſity of that heavy body, that by its weight overthrew and bore down all before it.

In order to prevent this inconvenience, an able officer would have marched down the mountain with ſuch of his troops as were lighteſt armed and moſt active, to have met the phalanx. He might eaſily have attacked thoſe troops as ſoon as they began to aſcend, and would then have haraſſed them on every ſide.

ſide. The inequalities of the mountain, with the difficulty of aſcending it entirely uncovered, would have enabled him to have opened a paſſage through this body of men, and to have interrupted their march, by putting their ranks into confuſion, and breaking their order of battle; he might alſo have fallen back by degrees, in order to regain the ſummit of the mountain, as the enemy advanced upon him, and after he had deprived them of the only advantage they could expect from the quality of their arms, and the diſpoſition of their troops, he might have improved the advantage of his poſt in ſuch a manner, as to have eaſily put them to flight.

Euclidas, inſtead of acting in this manner, continued on the top of the mountain, flattering himſelf, that victory would infallibly attend his arms: he imagined, in all probability, that the higher he permitted the enemy to advance, the eaſier it would be for him to precipitate their troops down the ſteep declivity: but as he had not reſerved for his own forces a ſufficient extent of ground for any retreat that might happen to be neceſſary for avoiding the formidable charge of the phalanx, which advanced upon him in good order, his troops were crowded together in ſuch a manner, as obliged them to fight on the ſummit of the mountain, where they could not long ſuſtain the weight of the Illyrian arms, and the order of battle into which that infantry formed themſelves on the eminence; and as his men could neither retreat nor change their ground, they were ſoon defeated by their enemies.

During this action, the cavalry of each army had alſo engaged. That of the Achæans behaved themſelves with great bravery, and Philopœmen in particular; becauſe they were ſenſible that the liberties of their republic would be decided by this battle. Philopœmen, in the heat of the action, had his horſe killed under him, and while he fought on foot, his armour was pierced through with a javelin; the wound, however, was not mortal, nor attended with any ill conſequences.

The two kings began the engagement on mount Olympus, with their light-armed troops and foreign ſoldiers, of whom each of them had about 5000. As this action was performed in the ſight of each ſovereign and his army, the troops emulated each other in ſignalizing themſelves, as well in parties, as when the battle became general. Man and man, and rank to rank, all fought with the utmoſt vigour and obſtinacy. Cleomenes, when he ſaw his brother defeated, and his cavalry loſing ground in the plain, was apprehenſive that the enemy would pour upon him from all quarters; and therefore thought it adviſeable to

level all the intrenchments around his camp, and cauſe his whole army to march out in front. The trumpets having ſounded a ſignal for the light-armed troops to retreat from the track between the two camps, each phalanx advanced with loud ſhouts, ſhifting their lances at the ſame time, and began the charge. The action was very hot. One while the Macedonians fell back before the valour of the Spartans; and theſe, in their turn, were unable to ſuſtain the weight of the Macedonian phalanx; till at laſt the troops of Antigonus advancing with their lances lowered and cloſed, charged the Lacedæmonians with all the impetuoſity of a phalanx that had doubled its ranks, and drove them from their intrenchments. The defeat then became general; the Lacedæmonians fell in great numbers, and thoſe who ſurvived fled from the field of battle in the greateſt diſorder. Cleomenes, with only a few horſe, retreated to Sparta. Plutarch aſſures us, that moſt of the foreign troops periſhed in this battle, and that no more than 200 Lacedæmonians eſcaped out of 6000.

It may juſtly be ſaid, that Antigonus derived his ſucceſs, in ſome meaſure, from the prudence and bravery of the young Philopœmen. His bold reſolution to attack the light infantry of the enemy with ſo few forces as thoſe of his own troop, contributed to the overthrow of the wing commanded by Euclidas, and that drew on the general defeat. This action, undertaken by a private captain of horſe, not only without orders, but in oppoſition to the ſuperior officers, and even contrary to the command of the general, ſeems to be a tranſgreſſion of military diſcipline; but it ought to be remembered, that the welfare of an army is a circumſtance ſuperior to all other conſiderations. Had the general been preſent, he himſelf would have given directions for that motion, and the delay even of a ſingle moment might occaſion the impoſſibility of its ſucceſs. It is evident that Antigonus judged of the action in this manner; for when the battle was over, he aſſumed an air of ſeeming diſpleaſure, and demanded of Alexander, who commanded his cavalry, what his reaſon could be for beginning the attack before the ſignal, contrary to the orders he had iſſued? Alexander then replying, that it was not himſelf, but a young officer of Megalopolis, who had tranſgreſſed his commands in that manner. "That young man," ſaid Antigonus, "in ſeizing the occaſion, "behaved like a great general, but you the general like a young "man."

Sparta, on this diſaſter, ſhowed that ancient ſteadineſs and intrepidity, which ſeemed to have ſomething of a ſavage air, and had

had diſtinguiſhed her citizens on all occaſions. No married woman was ſeen to mourn for the loſs of her huſband. The old men celebrated the death of their children; and the children congratulated their fathers who had fallen in battle. Every one deplored the fate which had prevented them from ſacrificing their lives to the liberty of their country. They opened their hoſpitable doors to thoſe who returned covered with wounds from the army; they attended them with peculiar care, and ſupplied them with all the accommodations they needed. No trouble or confuſion was ſeen through the whole city, and every individual lamented more the public calamity than any particular loſs of their own.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at Sparta, adviſed his citizens to receive Antigonus; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country with the utmoſt pleaſure, whenever it ſhould happen to be in his power. He then retired into his own houſe, but would neither drink, though very thirſty, nor ſit down, though extremely fatigued. Charged as he then was with the weight of his armour, he leaned againſt a column, with his head reclined on his arm; and after he had deliberated with himſelf for ſome time on the different meaſures in his power to take, he ſuddenly quitted the houſe, and went with his friends to the port of Gythium, where he embarked in a veſſel he had prepared for that purpoſe, and ſailed for Egypt.

A Spartan, having made a lively repreſentation to him of the melancholy conſequences that might attend his intended voyage to Egypt, and the indignity a king of Sparta would ſuſtain by crouching in a ſervile manner to a foreign prince, took that opportunity to exhort him in the ſtrongeſt manner, to prevent thoſe juſt reproaches by a voluntary and glorious death, and to vindicate, by that action, thoſe who had ſacrificed their lives in the fields of Selaſia, for the liberty of Sparta. "You are deceived," cried Cleomenes, "if you imagine there is any bravery in "confronting death, merely through the apprehenſion of falſe "ſhame, or the deſire of empty applauſe: Say rather, that ſuch "an action is mean and puſillanimous. The death we may "be induced to covet, inſtead of being the evaſion of an action, "ought to be an action itſelf *, ſince nothing can be more diſ-

* The ancients maintained it as a principle, that the death of the perſons employed in the adminiſtration of a ſtate ought neither to be uſeleſs nor inactive with reſpect to the public, but a natural conſequence of their miniſtry, and one of their moſt important actions. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 57.

" honourable than either to live or die, merely for one's self. " For my part, I shall endeavour to be useful to my country, to " my latest breath; and whenever this hope happens to fail us, " it will be easy for us to have recourse to death, if such should " be then our inclination."

*Cleomenes had scarce set sail, before Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himself master of the city. He seemed to treat the inhabitants more like a friend than a conqueror, and declared to them that he had not engaged in a war against the Spartans, but against Cleomenes, whose flight had satisfied and disarmed his resentment. He likewise added, that it would be glorious to his memory, to have it said by posterity, that Sparta had been preserved by the prince who alone had the good fortune to take it. He reckoned he had saved that city, by abolishing all that the zeal of Cleomenes had accomplished, for the re-establishment of the ancient laws of Lycurgus; though that conduct was the real cause of its ruin. Sparta lost all that was valuable to her, by the overthrow and involuntary retreat of Cleomenes. One fatal battle blotted out that happy dawn of power and glory, and for ever deprived him of the hopes of reinstating his city in her ancient splendor and original authority, which were incapable of subsisting after the abolition of those ancient laws and customs on which her welfare was founded. Corruption then resumed her former course, and daily gathered strength, till Sparta sunk to her last declension in a very short space of time. It may therefore be justly said, that the bold views and enterprises of Cleomenes were the last struggles of its expiring liberty.

Antigonus left Sparta three days after he had entered it; and his departure was occasioned by the intelligence he had received, that a war had broke out in Macedonia, where the Barbarians committed dreadful ravages. If this news had arrived three days sooner, Cleomenes might have been saved. Antigonus was already afflicted with a severe indisposition, which at last ended in a consumption and total defluxion of humours that carried him off two or three days after. He however would not suffer himself to be dejected by his ill state of health, and had even spirit enough to engage in new battles in his own kingdom. It was said, that after he had been victorious over the Illyrians, he was so transported with joy, that he frequently repeated these expressions, " O the glorious happy battle!" and that he ut-

* A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223. Plut. in Cleom. p. 819. Polyb. l. ii. p. 155. Justin. l. xxviii. c. 4.

tered

tered this exclamation with so much ardour, that he burst a vein, and lost a large quantity of blood; this symptom was succeeded by a violent fever, which ended his days. Some time before his death, he settled the succession to his dominions in favour of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was then fourteen years of age; or it may be rather said, that he returned him the sceptre, which had only been deposited in his hand.

Cleomenes, in the mean time, arrived at Alexandria, where he met with a very cold reception from the king, when he was first introduced into his presence. But after he had given that monarch proofs of his admirable sense, and shown in his common conversation the generous freedom, openness, and simplicity of the Spartan manners, attended with a graceful politeness, in which there was nothing mean, and even a noble pride that became his birth and dignity, Ptolemy was then sensible of his merit, and esteemed him infinitely more than all those courtiers who were only solicitous to please him by abject flatteries. He was even struck with confusion and remorse for his neglect of so great a man, and for having abandoned him to Antigonus, who had raised his own reputation, and enlarged his power to an infinite degree, by his victory over that prince. *The king of Egypt then endeavoured to comfort and relieve Cleomenes, by treating him with the utmost honour, and giving him repeated assurances that he would send him into Greece with such a fleet and a supply of money, as, with his other good offices, should be sufficient to re-establish him on the throne. He also assigned him an yearly pension of 24 talents (about L.20,000 sterling), with which he supported himself and his friends with the utmost frugality, reserving all the remainder of that allowance for the relief of those who retired into Egypt from Greece. †Ptolemy however died before he could accomplish his promise to Cleomenes. This prince had reigned 25 years, and was the last of that race in whom any true virtue and moderation was conspicuous; ‡ for the generality of his successors were monsters of debauchery and wickedness. The prince, whose character we are now describing, had made it his principal § care to extend his dominions to the South, from concluding the peace with Syria. Accordingly he had extended it the whole length of the Red-sea, as well along the Arabian as the Ethiopian coasts, and even to the Straits ||, which form a communication with the

* A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222.
‡ Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.
|| Straits of Babelmandel.
† A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.
§ Monum Adulit.

Southern

Southern ocean. He was ſucceeded on the throne of Egypt by his ſon Ptolemy, ſurnamed Philopater.

* Some time before this period, Rhodes ſuffered very conſiderable damages from a great earthquake. The walls of the city, with the arſenals, and the narrow paſſes in the haven, where the ſhips of that iſland were laid up, were reduced to a very ruinous condition; and the famous Coloſſus, which was eſteemed one of the wonders of the world, was thrown down, and entirely deſtroyed. It is natural to think, that this earthquake ſpared neither private houſes nor public ſtructures, nor even the temples of the gods. The loſs ſuſtained by it amounted to immenſe ſums; and the Rhodians, reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſent deputations to all the neighbouring princes, to implore their relief in that melancholy conjuncture. An emulation worthy of praiſe, and not to be paralleled in hiſtory, prevailed in favour of that deplorable city; and Hiero and Gelon in Sicily, and Ptolemy in Egypt, ſignalized themſelves in a peculiar manner on that occaſion. The two former of theſe princes contributed above 100 talents, and erected two ſtatues in the public place; one of which repreſented the people of Rhodes, and the other thoſe of Syracuſe; the former was crowned by the latter, to teſtify, as Polybius obſerves, that the Syracuſans thought the opportunity of relieving the Rhodians a favour and obligation to themſelves. Ptolemy, beſides his other expences, which amounted to a very conſiderable ſum, ſupplied that people with 300 talents, 1,000,000 buſhels of corn, and a ſufficient quantity of timber for building ten galleys of ten benches of oars, and as many more of three benches, beſides an infinite quantity of wood for other buildings; all which donations were accompanied with 3000 talents for erecting the Coloſſus anew. Antigonus, Seleucus, Pruſias, Mithridates, and all the princes, as well as cities, ſignalized their liberality on this occaſion. Even private perſons emulated each other in ſharing in this glorious act of humanity; and hiſtorians have recorded, that a lady, whoſe name was Chryſeis *, and who truly merited that appellation, furniſhed from her own ſubſtance 100,000 buſhels of corn. "Let "the princes of theſe times," ſays Polybius, "who imagine they "have done glorionſly in giving four or five thouſand crowns, "only conſider how inferior their generoſity is to that we have "now deſcribed." Rhodes, in conſequence of theſe liberalities, was re-eſtabliſhed in a few years, in a more opulent and

* A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. l. v. p. 428—431.

† Chryſeis ſignifies golden.

ſplendid

ſplendid ſtate than ſhe had ever experienced before, if we only except the Coloſſus.

This Coloſſus was a brazen ſtatue, of a prodigious ſize, as I have formerly obſerved; and ſome authors have affirmed, that the money ariſing from the contributions already mentioned, amounted to five times as much as the loſs which the Rhodians had ſuſtained. * This people, inſtead of employing the ſums they had received, in replacing that ſtatue according to the intention of the donors, pretended that the oracle of Delphos had forbid it, and given them a command to preſerve that money for other purpoſes, by which they enriched themſelves. The Coloſſus lay neglected on the ground, for the ſpace of 894 years; at the expiration of which, that is to ſay, in the 653d year of our Lord, Moawyas †, the 6th Caliph or emperor of the Saracens, made himſelf maſter of Rhodes, and ſold this ſtatue to a Jewiſh merchant, who loaded 900 camels with the metal; which, computed by eight quintals for each load, after a deduction of the diminution the ſtatue had ſuſtained by ruſt, and very probably by theft, amounted to more than L.36,000 ſterling, or 7200 quintals.

* Strab. l. xiv. p. 652.

† Zonar. ſub regno Conſtantis Imperator et Cedrenus.

BOOK SEVENTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

THIS Book includes the hiſtory of 27 years, during which Ptolemy Philopater reigned.

SECTION I.

ANTIOCHUS TAKES THE STRONGEST CITIES IN COELOSYRIA. HE IS ENTIRELY DEFEATED AT THE BATTLE OF RAPHIA.

I OBSERVED in the preceding book*, that Ptolemy Philopater had ſucceeded Ptolemy Evergetes, his father, in Egypt. On the other ſide, Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left two ſons, Seleucus and Antiochus; and the firſt, who was the elder, ſucceeded to his father's throne, and aſſumed the ſurname of ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ, Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, which no way ſuited his character; for he was a very weak prince both in body and mind, and never did any actions that correſponded with the idea of that name. His reign was ſhort, and his authority but ill eſtabliſhed, either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his loſing it entirely was, that Achæus, his couſin, ſon to Andromachus, his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, aſſumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andromachus, he was taken by Ptolemy, in a war with Callinicus, and kept priſoner in Alexandria during all his reign, and part of the following.

* A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Polyb. l. iv. p. 315. et. l. v. p. 386. Hieron. in Daniel. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Juſtin. l. xix. c. 1.

Attalus

* Attalus king of Pergamus having seized upon all Asia Minor, from mount Taurus as far as the Hellespont, Seleucus marched against him, and left Hermias the Carian regent of Syria. Achæus accompanied him in that expedition, and did him all the good services the ill state of his affairs would admit.

† Having no money to pay the forces, and the king being despised by the soldiers for his weakness, Nicanor and Apturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him during his absence in Phrygia, and poisoned him. However, Achæus revenged that horrible action, by putting to death the two ring-leaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with so much prudence and valour, with regard to the army, that he kept the soldiers in their obedience; and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have lost the Syrian empire all it still possessed on that side.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus, and several of the provinces did the same. However, he had the generosity to refuse it at that time, though he afterwards thought himself obliged to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, he not only refused the crown, but preserved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, the brother of the deceased king, who was but in his 15th year. Seleucus at his setting out for Asia Minor, had sent him into Babylonia‡, where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he ascended the throne, and enjoyed it 36 years. For his illustrious actions he has been surnamed the Great. Achæus, to secure the succession in his favour, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the forces he kept for the service of the state, in that part of the country where he himself was.

§ As soon as Antiochus was possessed of the crown, he sent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the East; the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. Achæus was appointed to preside over the provinces of Asia Minor. Epigenes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's person; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime minister, as he had been under his brother. Achæus soon re-

* A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 224. † A. M. 3781. Ant. J. C. 223.

‡ To Seleucia, which was in that province, and the capital of the East, instead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at least was uninhabited.

§ A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. l. v. p. 386.

covered

covered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria, and forced him to confine himself within his kingdom of Pergamus. Alexander and Molo, despising the king's youth, were no sooner fixed in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge him; and each declared himself sovereign in the province over which he had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

This minister was of a cruel disposition. The most inconsiderable faults were by him made crimes, and punished with the utmost rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, full of himself, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a dishonour to have either asked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any person should share with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was suspected by, or rather odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time, and in whom the troops reposed an entire confidence. It was this reputation gave the prime minister umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill-will he bore him.

*News being brought of Molo's revolt, Antiochus assembled his council, in order to consider what was to be done in the present posture of affairs; and whether it would be advisable for him to march in person against that rebel, or turn towards Cœlosyria, to check the enterprises of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the first who spoke, and declared, that they had no time to lose: That it was absolutely necessary the king should go in person into the East, in order to take advantage of the most favourable times and occasions for acting against the rebels: That when he should be on the spot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in the sight of the prince, and of an army; or in case he should persist in his design, the people struck with the presence of their sovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the most important point of all was, not to give him time to fortify himself. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and self-sufficient tone of voice, that to advise the king to march in person against Molo, with so inconsiderable a body of forces, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of his speaking in this manner was, his being afraid of sharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to

* A.M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. Polyb. l. v. p. 386—395.

him

him a much less formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleasures. The advice of Hermias prevailed, upon which the command of part of the troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war against Molo; and the king himself marched with the rest of the army towards Cœlosyria.

Being come to Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to espouse him. He made some stay there to solemnize his nuptials, the joy of which was soon interrupted by the news brought from the East, *viz.* that his generals, unable to make head against Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field of battle. Antiochus then saw the error he had committed in not following Epigenes's advice; and thereupon was for laying aside the enterprise against Cœlosyria, in order to march with all his troops to suppress that revolt. But Hermias persisted as obstinately as ever in his first opinion. He fancied he spoke wonders, in declaring, in an emphatic, sententious manner, "That it "became kings to march in person against kings, and to send "their lieutenants against rebels." Antiochus was so weak as to acquiesce again in Hermias's opinion.

It is scarce possible to conceive how useless experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflection. This artful, insinuating, and deceitful minister, knew how to adapt himself to all the desires and inclinations of his master; and inventive and industrious in finding out new methods to please and amuse, he had the cunning to make himself necessary, by easing his prince of the weight of affairs; so that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him; and though he perceived several things in his conduct and counsels which gave him disgust, he would not give himself the trouble to examine strictly into them, nor had resolution enough to resume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him: so that acquiescing again in his opinion on this occasion, not from conviction, but weakness and indolence, he contented himself with sending a general, and a body of troops, into the East; and himself resumed the expedition of Cœlosyria.

* The general he sent on that occasion was Xenetes the Achæan, in whose commission it was ordered, that the two first generals should resign to him the command of their forces, and serve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and

* A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

his only merit was his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Raised to an employment, which his vanity and presumption could never have hoped for, he behaved with haughtiness to the other officers, and with boldness and temerity to the enemy. The success was such as might be expected from so ill a choice. In passing the Tigris, he fell into an ambuscade, into which the enemy drew him by stratagem, and himself and all his army were cut to pieces. This victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they, by this means, possessed themselves without any opposition.

Antiochus in the mean time was advanced into Cœlosyria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus. He found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified, and so well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, finding it not possible to advance farther. There is no doubt but the news of the defeat of his troops in the East hastened also his retreat. He assembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after saying, in a modest tone, that it would have been most advisable to march immediately against them, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves as they had done, added, that the same reason ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and study to a war, which, if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himself injured by this discourse, began to exclaim against Epigenes in the most opprobrious terms on this occasion. He conjured the king not to lay aside the enterprise of Cœlosyria, affirming, that he could not abandon it, without instancing a levity and inconstancy, entirely inconsistent with the glory of a prince of his wisdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through shame, and Antiochus himself was much dissatisfied. It was unanimously resolved to march with the utmost speed against the rebels: and Hermias, finding that all resistance would be in vain, grew immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to the general opinion, and seemed more ardent than any body for hastening its execution. Accordingly the troops set out towards Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

They had scarce set out, when a sedition arose in the army, on account of the soldiers' arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation and anxiety; and indeed the danger was imminent. Hermias, seeing the king in such perplexity, comforted him, and promised to pay immediately

mediately the whole arrears due to the army: but at the same time earnestly besought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, because after the noise their quarrels had made, it would no longer be possible for them to act in concert in the operations of the war, as the good of the service might require. His view in this was, to begin by lessening Antiochus's esteem and affection for Epigenes by absence, well knowing, that princes soon forget the virtue and services of a man removed from their sight.

This proposal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly sensible how necessary the presence of a general of Epigenes's experience and ability was in so important an expedition; but* as Hermias had industriously contrived to besiege, and in a manner possess him by all manner of methods, such as suggesting to him pretended views of economy, watching his every action, keeping a kind of guard over him, and bribing his affection by the most abandoned complacency and adulation, that unhappy prince was no longer his own master. The king therefore consented, though with the utmost reluctance, to what he required; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event surprised and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehensive of the same fate: but the soldiers, having received all their arrears, were very easy, and thought themselves highly obliged to the prime minister, by whose means they had been paid. Having in this manner made himself master of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As Epigenes's disgrace extended only to his removal, it was far from satiating his vengeance; and as it did not calm his uneasiness with regard to the future, he was apprehensive that he might obtain leave to return, to prevent which he employed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion; and, indeed, how few would be otherwise with regard to an all-powerful minister, the sole dispenser of his master's graces! Hermias orders this man to dispatch Epigenes, and prescribes him the manner. In consequence of this, Alexis bribes one of Epigenes's domestics; and by gifts and promises, engages him to slide a letter he gave him among his master's papers. This letter seemed to have been written and subscribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of the rebels, who thank-

* Περιεχόμενος δὲ καὶ προκατειλημμένος οἰκονομίαις, καὶ φυλακαῖς, καὶ θεραπείαις ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρμείου κακονθείας, οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ κύριος. Circumventus et preoccupatus œconomiis, et custodiis, et obsequiis, Hermiæ malignitate, sui non erat dominus. This is a literal translation.

ed Epigenes for having formed a conſpiracy againſt the king, and communicated to him the methods by which he might ſafely put it in execution. Some days after, Alexis went to him, and aſked whether he had not received a letter from Molo? Epigenes, ſurpriſed at this queſtion, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, and at the ſame time the higheſt indignation. The other replied, that he was ordered to inſpect his papers. Accordingly, a ſearch being made, the forged letter was found; and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwiſe examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare ſight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved againſt him. However, the courtiers thought otherwiſe; but fear kept them all tongue-tied, and dumb. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied, are princes!

Although the ſeaſon was now very far advanced, Antiochus paſſed the Euphrates, aſſembled all his forces, and that he might be nearer at hand, to open the campaign very early the next ſpring, he in the mean time ſent them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood.

* Upon the return of the ſeaſon, he marched them towards the Tigris, paſſed that river, forced Molo to come to an engagement, and gained ſo complete a victory over him, that the rebel, ſeeing all loſt, laid violent hands on himſelf. His brother Alexander was at that time in Perſia, where Neolas, another of their brothers, who eſcaped out of this battle, brought him that mournful news. Finding their affairs deſperate, they firſt killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and at laſt diſpatched themſelves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it. A juſt reward for all thoſe who dare to take up arms againſt their ſovereign.

After this victory, the remains of the vanquiſhed army ſubmitted to the king, who only reprimanded them in very ſevere terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then ſent them into Media, under the command of thoſe to whoſe care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence into Seleucia over the Tigris, he ſpent ſome time there in giving the orders neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for ſettling all things on their former foot.

This being done by perſons whom he appointed for that purpoſe, he marched againſt the Atropatians, who inhabited the

* A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

country

country ſituated on the weſt of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepid old man, who being greatly terrified with Antiochus's approach at the head of a victorious army, ſent and made his ſubmiſſion, and concluded a peace on ſuch conditions as Antiochus thought proper to preſcribe.

* News came at this time, that the queen was delivered of a ſon, which proved a ſubject of joy to the court as well as the army. Hermias, from that moment, revolved in his mind how he might diſpatch Antiochus; in hopes, that, after his death, he ſhould certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that, in his name, he might reign with unlimited power. His pride and inſolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government, which the avarice and cruelty of a prime miniſter had rendered inſupportable. Their complaints did not reach the throne, whoſe avenues were all cloſed againſt them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppreſſion under which his people groaned. It was well known that he apprehended inſpecting the truth, and that he abandoned to Hermias's cruelty all who dared to ſpeak againſt him. Till now he had been an utter ſtranger to the injuſtice and violence which Hermias exerciſed under his name. At laſt, however, he began to open his eyes; but was himſelf afraid of his miniſter, whoſe dependent he had made himſelf, and who had aſſumed an abſolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of his diſpoſition, who, at firſt, was well pleaſed with diſcharging the burden of affairs on Hermias.

Apollophanes, his phyſician, in whom the king repoſed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free acceſs to him, took a proper time to repreſent the general diſcontent of his ſubjects, and the danger to which himſelf was expoſed, by the ill conduct of his prime miniſter. He therefore adviſed Antiochus to take care of himſelf, leſt the ſame fate ſhould attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia, who fell a victim to the ambition of thoſe on whom he moſt relied: that it was plain Hermias was hatching ſome ill deſign; and that to prevent it, not a moment was to be loſt. These were real ſervices, which an officer, who is attached to the perſon of his king, and who has a ſincere affection for him, may and ought to perform. Such is the uſe he ought to make of the free acceſs which his ſovereign vouchſafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

* A. M. 3715. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. v. p. 399—431.

Antiochus was ſurrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, of whom not one had the courage to hazard his fortune, by telling him the truth. It has been very juſtly ſaid, that one of the greateſt bleſſings which God can beſtow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the ſilence of good men.

This prince, as was already obſerved, had begun to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of his chief miniſter, but did not reveal his thoughts to any perſon, not knowing whom to truſt. He was extremely well pleaſed that his phyſician had given him this advice, and concerted meaſures with him to rid himſelf of a miniſter ſo univerſally deteſted, and ſo dangerous. Accordingly, he removed to ſome ſmall diſtance from the army, upon pretence of being indiſpoſed, and carried Hermias with him to bear him company; here taking him to walk in a ſolitary place where none of his creatures could come to his aſſiſtance, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. His death cauſed an univerſal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occaſions, with great cruelty and violence; and whoever dared to oppoſe either his opinions or deſigns, was ſure to fall a victim to his reſentments. Accordingly, he was univerſally hated; and this hatred diſplayed itſelf more ſtrongly in Apamea than in any other place: for the inſtant the news was brought of his death, all the citizens roſe with the utmoſt fury, and ſtoned his wife and children.

* Antiochus, having ſo happily re-eſtabliſhed his affairs in the Eaſt, and raiſed to the government of the ſeveral provinces perſons of merit, in whom he could repoſe the greateſt confidence, marched back his army into Syria, and put it into winter-quarters. He ſpent the remainder of the year in Antioch, in holding frequent councils with his miniſters, on the operations of the enſuing campaign.

This prince had two other very dangerous enterpriſes to put in execution, for re-eſtabliſhing entirely the ſafety and glory of the empire of Syria: one was againſt Ptolemy, to recover Cœloſyria; and the other againſt Achæus, who had uſurped the ſovereignty of Aſia Minor.

Ptolemy Evergetes having ſeized upon all Cœloſyria, in the beginning of Seleucus Callinicus's reign, as was before related, the king of Egypt was ſtill poſſeſſed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus not a little incommoded by ſuch a neighbour.

* Polyb. l. v. p. 401.

With

With respect to Achæus, we have already seen in what manner he refused the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus, and had placed it on the head of Antiochus the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and services, had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Asia Minor. By his valour and good conduct he had recovered them all from Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had seized upon those countries, and fortified himself strongly in them. Such a series of success drew upon him the envy of such as had the ears of Antiochus. Upon this a report was spread, that he intended to usurp the crown, and with that view held a secret correspondence with Ptolemy. Whether these suspicions were well or ill grounded, he thought it advisable to prevent the evil designs of his enemies; and therefore, taking the crown which he had refused before, he caused himself to be declared king.

He soon became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia, and all princes solicited very earnestly his alliance. * This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and the Byzantines, on occasion of a tribute which the latter had imposed on all the ships that passed through the Straits; a tribute which was very grievous to the Rhodians, because of the great trade they carried on in the Black Sea. Achæus, at the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promised to assist them; the report of which threw the Rhodians into the utmost consternation, as well as Prusias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged in their party. In the extreme perplexity they were under, they thought of an expedient to disengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their interest. Andromachus, his father, brother to Laodice, whom Seleucus had married, was actually prisoner in Alexandria. These sent a deputation to Ptolemy, requesting that he might be set at liberty. The king, who was also very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furnish him with considerable succours against Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war, readily granted the Rhodians their request, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable present to Achæus, and made the Byzantines lose all hopes. They thereupon consented to reinstate things upon the ancient foot, and take off the new tribute which had occasioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two states, and Achæus had all the honour of it.

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 314—319.

It

* It was againſt this prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was reſolved to turn his arms. Theſe were the two dangerous wars he had to ſuſtain, and were the ſubject of the deliberations of his council, to conſider which of them he ſhould undertake firſt. After weighing all things maturely, it was reſolved to march firſt againſt Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the ſtrongeſt terms: and accordingly all the forces were ordered to aſſemble in Apamea, and afterwards to march into Cœloſyria.

In a council that was held before the army ſet out, Apollophanes, the king's phyſician, repreſented to him, that it would be a great overſight, ſhould they march into Cœloſyria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and ſo near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council, by the evident ſtrength of the reaſons which ſupported it; for this city ſtands on the ſame river as Antioch, and is but five leagues below, near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Evergetes undertook the invaſion already mentioned, to ſupport the rights of his ſiſter Berenice, he ſeized that city, and put a ſtrong Egyptian garriſon into it, which had kept poſſeſſion of that important place full 27 years. Among many prejudices it did to the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, its cutting off entirely their communication with the ſea, and ruining all their trade; for Seleucia being ſituated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which ſuffered grievouſly by that means. All theſe reaſons, being clearly and ſtrongly urged by Apollophanes, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open this campaign with the ſiege of Selcucia. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, inveſted it, took it by ſtorm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Cœloſyria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of it under Ptolemy, promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of the whole country. We have ſeen how vigorouſly he had repulſed him the year before; nevertheleſs, the court of Egypt had not been ſatisfied with his ſervices on that occaſion. Thoſe who governed the king, expected greater things from his valour, and were perſuaded, that it was in his power to have done ſomething more. Accordingly he was ſent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct, and was threatened with no leſs than

* A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. v. p. 402—409.

loſing

loſing his head. Indeed, after his reaſons had been heard, he was acquitted, and ſent back to his government. However, he could not forgive the groundleſs injury they had done him, and was ſo exaſperated at the affront, that he reſolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witneſs, heightened his indignation and reſentment. It was intolerable to him to depend on the caprice of ſo baſe and contemptible a ſet of people; and indeed it would be impoſſible for fancy to conceive more abominable exceſſes than thoſe in which Philopater plunged himſelf during his whole reign; and the court imitated but too exactly the example he ſet them. It was thought that he had poiſoned his father, whence he was, by antiphraſis, ſurnamed * Philopater. He publicly cauſed Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother, to be put to death. After he had got rid of all thoſe who could either give him good counſel, or excite his jealouſy, he abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous pleaſures, and was ſolely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the moſt ſhameful paſſions. His prime miniſter was Soſibes, a man every way qualified for the ſervice of ſuch a maſter as Philopater, and one whoſe ſole view was to ſupport himſelf in power by any means whatſoever. The reader will naturally imagine, that, in ſuch a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus, who was a man of honour, could not bear to depend on ſuch people, and therefore reſolved to find a ſovereign more worthy of his ſervices. Accordingly, he was no ſooner returned to his government, but he ſeized upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for king Antiochus, and immediately diſpatched the courier above-mentioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolomy's generals, though he was of the ſame country with Theodotus, however, would not deſert Ptolemy, but preſerved his fidelity to that prince. The inſtant therefore that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he beſieged him in it, poſſeſſed himſelf of the paſſes of mount Libanus, to ſtop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the laſt extremity. However, he was afterwards forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took poſſeſſion of Tyre and Ptolemais, whoſe gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

* This word ſignifies, "a lover of his father."

In

In these two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the use of his army, with a fleet of 40 sail. He gave the command of these ships to Diogenes, his admiral, who was ordered to sail to Pelusium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that side: however, being informed that this was the season in which the inhabitants used to lay the country under water, by opening the dykes of the Nile, and consequently, that it would be impossible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project, and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the rest of Cœlosyria. He seized upon some fortresses, and others submitted to him; * and at last he possessed himself of Damascus, the capital of that province, after having deceived Dinon the governor of it by a stratagem.

The last action of this campaign was the siege of Dora, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel. This place, which was strongly situated, had been so well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impossible for Antiochus to take it. He therefore was forced to agree to a four month's truce, proposed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this served him as an honourable pretence for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put it into winter-quarters. Antiochus appointed Theodotus, the Ætolian, governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

* During the interval of this truce, a treaty was negotiated between the two crowns, in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time. Ptolemy had occasion for it, in order to making the necessary preparations for carrying on the war: and Antiochus for reducing Achæus. The latter was not satisfied with Asia Minor, of which he was already master, but had no less in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to dispossess him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was necessary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engaged in remote conquests.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa, had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's empire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy laid claim to them, by virtue of their having been assigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter, his great grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator; and therefore

* Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15. † Ibid. v. p. 409—415.

that

that they were his right, being heir and ſucceſſor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embaraſſed the commiſſioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus oppoſed abſolutely, alleging, that it was a ſhameful and unheard-of thing for a king, like Ptolemy, to eſpouſe the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

* During theſe conteſts, in which neither ſide would yield to the other, the time of truce elapſed; and nothing being concluded, it became neceſſary to have recourſe again to arms. Nicolaus, the Ætolian, had given ſo many proofs of valour and fidelity in the laſt campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the ſervice of the king, in thoſe provinces which occaſioned the war. Perigenes, the admiral, put to ſea with the fleet, in order to act againſt the enemy on that ſide. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the neceſſary proviſions had been ſent from Egypt. From thence he marched to mount Libanus, where he ſeized all the paſſes between that chain of mountains and the ſea, by which Antiochus was obliged to paſs; firmly reſolved to wait for him there, and ſtop his march, by the ſuperiority which the advantageous poſts he was maſter of gave him.

In the mean time Antiochus was not inactive, but prepared all things both by ſea and land for a vigorous invaſion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diogenes, his admiral, and put himſelf at the head of his land-forces. The fleets coaſted the armies on both ſides; ſo that their naval as well as land-forces met at the paſſes which Nicolaus had ſeized. Whilſt Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets began to engage, ſo that the battle began both by ſea and land at the ſame time. At ſea neither party had the ſuperiority; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus to retire to Sidon, after loſing 4000 of his ſoldiers, who were either killed or taken priſoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet; and Antiochus purſued them to that city both by ſea and land, with the deſign of beſieging them in it. He nevertheleſs found that conqueſt would be attended with too many difficulties, becauſe of the great number of troops in the city, where they had great abundance of proviſions, and other neceſſaries; and he was not willing to beſiege it in form. He therefore ſent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having ſubjected it by the taking of ſeveral cities, he paſ-

* A. M. 3786. Ant. J. C. 218.

ſed

fed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all that country, formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manaſſeh.

The ſeaſon was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reaſon he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Kereas, who had deſerted Ptolemy's ſervice, and come over to him; and he gave them 5000 men to keep it in ſubjection. He marched the reſt of the forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter-quarters.

* The campaign was again opened in ſpring. Ptolemy cauſed 70,000 foot, 5000 horſe, and 63 elephants, to advance towards Peluſium. He was at the head of theſe forces, and marched them through the deſerts which divide Egypt from Paleſtine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was ſomething more numerous than the other. His forces conſiſted of 72,000 foot, 12,000 horſe, and 102 elephants. He firſt encamped within † ten furlongs, and ſoon after within five of the enemy. All the time they lay ſo near one another, they were perpetually ſkirmiſhing, either when they went to fetch freſh water, or in foraging; particulars alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon theſe occaſions.

Theodotus, the Ætolian, who had ſerved many years under the Egyptians, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, entered their camp, accompanied only by two perſons. He was taken for an Egyptian; ſo that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a deſign to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his firſt phyſician, having miſtaken him for Ptolemy. He alſo wounded two other perſons; and during the alarm and noiſe which this attempt occaſioned, he eſcaped to his camp.

But at laſt the two kings, reſolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle-array. They rode from one body to another, at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arſinoe, the ſiſter and wife of Ptolemy, not only exhorted the ſoldiers to behave manfully before the battle, but did not leave her huſband even during the heat of the engagement. The iſſue of it was, Antiochus, being at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left; but whilſt hurried on by an inconſiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the purſuit, Ptolemy,

* A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. Polyb. l. v. p. 241—248.
† Half a French league.

who

who had been as ſucceſsful in the other wing, charged Antiochus' centre in flank, which was then uncovered, and broke it before it was poſſible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, who ſaw which way the duſt flew, concluded that the centre was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus obſerve it: but though he faced about that inſtant, he came too late to amend his fault, and found the reſt of his army broke and put to flight. He himſelf was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loſs of 10,000 men killed, and 4000 taken priſoners. Finding it would now be impoſſible for him to continue the campaign againſt Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conqueſts, and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the ſame time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminius the conſul on the banks of the lake Thraſymene in Hetruria.

After Antiochus' retreat, all Cœloſyria and Paleſtine ſubmitted with great cheerfulneſs to Ptolemy. Having been long ſubject to the Egyptians, they were more inclined to them than to Antiochus. The conqueror's court was ſoon crowded with ambaſſadors from all the cities, and from Judæa among the reſt, to pay homage to, and offer him preſents; and all met with a gracious reception.

* Ptolemy was deſirous of making a progreſs through the conquered provinces, and, among other cities, he viſited Jeruſalem. He ſaw † the temple there, and even offered ſacrifices to the God of Iſrael; making at the ſame time oblations, and beſtowing conſiderable gifts. However, not being ſatisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go, he was determined to enter the ſanctuary, and even as far as the Holy of Holies; to which no one was allowed acceſs but the high-prieſt, and that but once every year, on the day of the great expiation. The report of this being ſoon ſpread, occaſioned a great tumult. The high-prieſt informed him of the holineſs of the place, and the expreſs law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The prieſts and Levites drew together in a body to oppoſe his raſh deſign, which the people alſo conjured him to lay aſide. And now all places echoed with the la-

* Maccab. l. iii. c. 1.

† The third book of Maccabees, whence this ſtory is extracted, is not admitted by the church among the canonical books of ſcripture, any more than the fourth. They are prior, with regard to the order of time, to the two firſt. Dr. Prideaux, ſpeaking of the third book, ſays, that the groundwork of the ſtory is true, though the author changed ſome circumſtances of it, by intermixing fabulous incidents.

mentations which were made, on account of the profanation to which their temple would be expoſed; and in all places the people were lifting up their hands, to implore heaven not to ſuffer it. However, all this oppoſition, inſtead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curioſity the more. He forced in as far as the ſecond court; but as he was preparing to enter the temple itſelf, God ſtruck him with a ſudden terror, which threw him into ſuch prodigious diſorder, that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exaſperated againſt the Jewiſh nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and highly threatened it with his revenge. He accordingly kept his word, and the following year raiſed a cruel perſecution, eſpecially againſt the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force to worſhip falſe deities.

*The inſtant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia, arrived in Antioch, he ſent an embaſſy to Ptolemy, to ſue for peace. The circumſtance which prompted him to this was, his ſuſpecting the fidelity of his people; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much leſſened ſince his laſt defeat. Beſides, it was high time for him to turn his arms towards Achæus, and check the progreſs he made, which increaſed daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that ſide, he concluded that it would be ſafeſt for him to make a peace upon any terms with Ptolemy, to avoid being oppoſed by two ſuch powerful enemies, who, invading him on both ſides, would certainly overpower him at laſt. He therefore inveſted his ambaſſadors with full power to give up to Ptolemy thoſe provinces which were the ſubject of their conteſt, *i. e.* Cœloſyria and Paleſtine. Cœloſyria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Paleſtine, all the country which anciently was the inheritance of the children of Iſrael; and the coaſt of theſe two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia. Antiochus conſented to reſign up all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchaſe a peace at this juncture; chooſing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the loſing of them all. A truce was therefore agreed for 12 months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on the ſame terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory for conquering all Syria, was deſirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportunity of devoting himſelf entirely to his pleaſures. His ſubjects, knowing his want of ſpirit and effeminacy, could

* Polyb. l. v. p. 428. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieron. in Daniel, c. 11.

not

not conceive how it had been poſſible for him to have been ſo ſucceſsful; and at the ſame time they were diſpleaſed at his having concluded a peace, by which he had tied up his hands. The diſcontent they conceived on this account, was the chief ſource of the diſorders in Egypt, which at laſt roſe to an open rebellion: ſo that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himſelf in the centre of his own dominions.

* Antiochus, after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war againſt Achæus, and made all the preparations neceſſary for taking the field. At laſt he paſſed mount Taurus, and entered Aſia Minor with an intention to ſubdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces againſt the common enemy. They attacked him with ſo much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and ſhut himſelf up in Sardis, to which Antiochus laying ſiege, Achæus held it out above a year. He often made ſallies, and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At laſt, by a ſtratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commanders, Sardis was taken. Achæus retired into the citadel, where he defended himſelf, till he was delivered up by two traitorous Cretans. This fact confirms the truth of the proverb, which ſaid that the † "Cretans were liars and knaves."

‡ Ptolemy Philopater had made a treaty with Achæus, and was very ſorry for his being ſo cloſely blocked up in the caſtle of Sardis; and therefore commanded Soſibes to relieve him at any price whatſoever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a conſiderable time at Sardis. Soſibes conſulted this man, and aſked whether he could not think on ſome method for Achæus's eſcape. The Cretan deſired time to conſider of it; and returning to Soſibes, offered to undertake it, and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was alſo his near relation, Cambylus by name, a captain in the Cretan troops in Antiochus's ſervice: that he commanded at that time in a fort behind the caſtle of Sardis, and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus eſcape that way. His project being approved, he was ſent with the utmoſt ſpeed to Sardis to put it in execution, and 10 § talents were given him to defray his expences, &c. and a much

* A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Polyb. l. v. p. 444.
† Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία. S. Paul, Epiſt. ad Tit. i. 12.
‡ Polyb. l. viii. p. 522—531. § 10,000 French crowns.

more conſiderable ſum promiſed him in caſe he ſucceeded. After his arrival, he communicates the affair to Cambylus, when thoſe two miſcreants agree, for their greater advantage, to go and reveal their deſign to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themſelves had determined, to play their parts ſo well, that inſtead of procuring Achæus's eſcape, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a conſiderable reward, to be divided among them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.

* Antiochus was overjoyed at what he had heard, and promiſed them a reward that ſufficed to engage them to do him that important ſervice. Upon this Bolis, by Cambylus's aſſiſtance, eaſily got admiſſion into the caſtle, where the credentials he produced from Soſibes, and ſome other of Achæus's friends, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated prince. Accordingly he truſted himſelf to thoſe two wretches, who, the inſtant he was out of the caſtle, ſeized and delivered him to Antiochus. This king cauſed him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Aſia; for the moment thoſe who ſtill ſuſtained the ſiege heard of Achæus's death, they ſurrendered; and a little after, all the other places in the provinces of Aſia did the ſame.

† It was about this time that the diſcontent of the Egyptians againſt Philopater began to break out. According to Polybius, it occaſioned a civil war; but neither himſelf nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.

‡ We alſo read in Livy, that the Romans ſome time after ſent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, doubtleſs the ſame queen who before was called Arſinoe, to renew their ancient friendſhip and alliance with Egypt. Theſe carried as a preſent to the king, a robe and purple tunic, with an § ivory chair; and to the queen an embroidered robe, and a purple ſcarf. Such kind of preſents ſhow the happy ſimplicity which in thoſe ages prevailed among the Romans.

Philopater had at this time by ** Arſinoe, his wife and ſiſter, a ſon

* A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215. † Polyb. l. v. p. 444.

‡ A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

§ This was allowed in Rome to none but the higheſt officers in the ſtate.

‖ A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. Juſtin, l. xxx. c. 4.

** Juſtin calls her Eurydice. In caſe he is not miſtaken, this queen had three names, Arſinoe, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings. As Archbiſhop Uſher places the adventure of Hyrcanus the Jew at the birth of

a ſon called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who ſucceeded him at five years of age.

‡ Philopater, from the ſignal victory he had obtained over Antiochus, had abandoned himſelf to pleaſures and exceſſes of every kind. Agathoclea his concubine, Agathocles the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him entirely. He ſpent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the moſt infamous irregularities. His nights were paſſed in debauches, and his days in feaſts and diſſolute revels. Forgetting entirely the king, inſtead of applying himſelf to the affairs of ſtate, he valued himſelf upon preſiding in concerts, and playing upon inſtruments. The § women diſpoſed of every thing. They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had leſs authority in the kingdom than the prince himſelf. Soſibes, an old, artful miniſter, who had ſerved during three reigns, was at the helm, and his great experience had made him very capable of the adminiſtration; not indeed entirely in the manner he deſired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was ſo wicked, as to pay a blind obedience to the moſt unjuſt commands of a corrupt prince, and his unworthy favourites.

‖ Arſinoe, the king's ſiſter and wife, had no power or authority at court; the favourites and the prime miniſter did not ſhow her the leaſt reſpect. On the other ſide, the queen was not patient enough to ſuffer every thing without murmuring; and they at laſt grew weary of her complaints. The king, and thoſe who governed him, commanded Soſibes to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpoſe one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in ſuch cruel and barbarous aſſaſſinations.

This laſt action, added to ſo many more of the moſt flagrant nature, diſpleaſed the people ſo much, that Soſibes was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was ſucceeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had ſignalized himſelf in the army by his valour and conduct. He had

of Ptolemy Epiphanes, I had inſerted it there in the firſt edition of this work. But as Joſephus, from whom it is taken, ſays, that it happened in the reign of Seleucus the ſon of Antiochus the Great, I have tranſferred it to that time, as Dean Prideaux does alſo, that is to ſay, to the birth of Ptolemy Philometer, 187 years before Jeſus Chriſt.

‡ A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Juſtin, l. xxx. c. 1. et 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. l. xv. xvi.

§ Tribunatus, præfecturas, et ducatus mulieris ordinabant; nec quiſquam in regno ſuo minus, quam ipſe rex, poterat. Juſtin.

‖ Liv. l. xxvii. c. 4.

all the voiees in a grand couneil held for the chooſing a prime miniſter. Soſibes reſigned to him the king's ſeal, which was the badge of his offiee. Tlepolemus performed the ſeveral functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom during the king's life. But though this was not long, he diſcovered but too plainly that he had not all the qualities neeeſſary for ſupporting ſo great an employment. He had neither the experienee, ability, nor application of his predeeeſſor. As he had the adminiſtration of all the finances, and diſpoſed of all the honours and dignities of the ſtate, and all payments paſſed through his hands, every body, as is uſual, was aſſiduous in making their court to him. He was extremely liberal; but then his bounty was beſtowed without choice or diſcernment, and almoſt ſolely on thoſe who ſhared in his parties of pleaſure. The extravagant flatteries of thoſe who were for ever crowding about his perſon, made him fancy his talents ſuperior to thoſe of all other men. He aſſumed haughty airs, gave into luxury and profuſion, and at laſt grew inſupportable to all the world.

The wars of the Eaſt have made me ſuſpend the relation of the affairs that happened in Greeee during their continuanee: we now return to them.

SECTION II.

THE ÆTOLIANS DECLARE AGAINST THE ACHÆANS.—BATTLE OF CAPHYIA.—UNHAPPY DEATH OF CLEOMENES.

THE Ætolians*, particularly in the time we are now ſpeaking of, were become a very powerful people in Greece. Originally their territories extended from the river Aehelous, to the ſtrait of the gulph of Corinth, and to the eountry of the Locrians, ſurnamed Ozolæ. But in proceſs of time, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral eities in Acarnania, Theſſaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led mueh the ſame life upon land as pirates do at ſea, that is, they exerciſed themſelves perpetually in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not conſider any gain as infamous or unlawful; and were entire ſtrangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They ſignalized themſelves particularly in the war againſt the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece, and ſhowed themſelves zealous defenders of the public liberty againſt the Macedonians. The increaſe of their power had made them haughty and inſolent. That haughtineſs ap-

* Strab. l. x. p. 450. Polyb. p. 331. et 746. Pauſan. l. x. p. 650.

peared

peared in the anſwer they gave the Romans, when they ſent ambaſſadors to order them not to infeſt Acarnania. They expreſſed, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius, or Juſtin his epitomiſer*, the higheſt contempt for Rome, which they termed only in its origin a ſhameful receptacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built by fratricide, and formed by an aſſemblage of women raviſhed from the arms of their parents. They added, that the Ætolians had always diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Greece, as much by their valour as their virtue and deſcent; that neither Philip nor Alexander his ſon had been formidable to them; and that at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions. That therefore the Romans would not do well to rouſe the Ætolians againſt them; a people whoſe arms had extirpated the Gauls, and deſpiſed the Macedonians. The reader may, from this ſpeech, form a judgment of the Ætolians, of whom much will be ſaid in the ſequel.

† From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had loſt his kingdom, and Antigonus, by his victory at Selaſia, had in ſome meaſure reſtored the peace of Greece, the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, who were tired by the firſt wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue on the ſame foot, had laid their arms aſide, and totally neglected military diſcipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was inſupportable to them, as it obliged them to ſubſiſt at their own expence, accuſtomed as they were to ſupport themſelves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infeſting their neighbours; but, after his death, deſpiſing Philip, becauſe of his youth, they marched into Peloponneſus ſword in hand, and laid waſte the territories of the Meſſenians.

Aratus, exaſperated at this perfidy and inſolence, and ſeeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, becauſe his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to ſucceed him the following year, he took upon him the command five days before the due time, in order to march the ſooner to the aid of the Meſſenians. ‡ Accordingly, having aſſembled the Achæans, whoſe vigour and ſtrength had ſuffered by repoſe and inactivity, he was defeated near Caphyia, in a great battle fought there.

Aratus was charged with being the cauſe of this defeat, and not without ſome foundation. He endeavoured to prove that

* Juſtin, l. xxviii. c. 2. † Polyb. iv. p. 271—292. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.
‡ A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.

the

the loſs of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared, that however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he aſked pardon; and entreated that his actions might be examined with leſs rigour than indulgence. His humility, on this occaſion, changed the minds of the whole aſſembly, whoſe fury now turned againſt his accuſers, and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his counſel. However, the remembrance of his defeat had exceedingly damped his courage, ſo that he behaved as a wiſe citizen, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to diſtreſs them, he took no advantage of them, but ſuffered that people to lay waſte the whole country almoſt with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again, and to call in king Philip to their aſſiſtance, in hopes that the affection he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his laſt moments, had, above all things, entreated Philip to keep well with Aratus; and to follow his counſel, in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had ſent him into Peloponneſus, to form him under his eye, and by his counſels. Aratus gave him the beſt reception in his power; treated him with the diſtinction due to his rank; and endeavoured to inſtill into him ſuch principles and ſentiments, as might enable him to govern with wiſdom the great kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly, that young prince returned into Macedonia with the higheſt ſentiments of eſteem for Aratus, and the moſt favourable diſpoſition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whoſe intereſt it was to remove a perſon of Aratus's known probity, in order to have the ſole aſcendant over their young prince, made that monarch ſuſpect his conduct, and prevailed ſo far, as to make him declare openly againſt Aratus. Nevertheleſs, finding ſoon after that he had been impoſed upon, he puniſhed the informers with great ſeverity, the ſole means to baniſh for ever from princes that calumny, which impunity, and ſometimes money, raiſe up and arm againſt perſons of the moſt conſummate virtue. Philip afterwards repoſed the ſame confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and reſolved to be guided by his counſels only; which was manifeſt on ſeveral occaſions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmonia. * That unhappy city was perpetually torn by ſeditions,

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 292—294.

in

in one of which, one of the Ephori, and a great many other citizens, were killed, becauſe they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedonia, he give audience to the ambaſſadors of Sparta at Tegea, whither he had ſent for them. In the council he held there, ſeveral were of opinion, that he ſhould treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that propoſal with horror, and contented himſelf with puniſhing the principal authors of the inſurrection. Such an inſtance of moderation and wiſdom in a king, who was but 17 years of age, was greatly admired; and every one was perſuaded, that it was owing to the good counſels of Aratus. However, he did not always make the ſame uſe of them.

* Being arrived at Corinth, complaints were made to him by many cities againſt the Ætolians; and accordingly war was unanimouſly declared againſt them. This was called the war of the allies, which began much about the ſame time that Hannibal was meditating the ſiege of Saguntum. This decree was ſent to all the cities, and ratified in the general aſſembly of the Achæans. The Ætolians, on the other ſide, prepared for war, and elected Scopas their general, the principal contriver of the broils they had raiſed, and the havoc they had made. Philip now marched back his forces into Macedonia; and, whilſt they were in winter-quarters, was very diligent in making the neceſſary military preparations. He endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by the aid of his allies, few of whom anſwered his views, colouring their delays with falſe and ſpecious pretences. He alſo ſent to king Ptolemy, to entreat him not to aid the Ætolians either with men or money.

† Cleomenes was at that time in Egypt; but as an horrid licentiouſneſs prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleaſures and exceſſes of every kind, Cleomenes led a very melancholy life there. Nevertheleſs Ptolemy, in the beginning of his reign, had made uſe of Cleomenes: for, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the ſoldiery, he contracted a ſtricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted him into his moſt ſecret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were conſulted. Cleomenes was the only perſon who oppoſed it; he declaring, that a king cannot have any miniſters more zealous for his ſervice, or more obliged to aid him in ſuſtaining the weighty burden of government, than his brothers.

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—299.

† A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Plut. in Cleom. p. 820—823.

This

This advice prevailed for that time: but Ptolemy's fears and ſuſpicions returning, he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him that occaſioned them. * After this he thought himſelf ſecure; fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad; becauſe Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other ſucceſſors but Philip and Antiochus, both whom he deſpiſed on account of their minority. In this ſecurity he devoted himſelf entirely to all ſorts of pleaſures, which were never interrupted by cares or applications of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor thoſe who had employments in the ſtate, dared to approach him; and he would ſcarce deign to beſtow the leaſt attention to what paſſed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however, was what employed the attention of his predeceſſors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being poſſeſſed of Cœloſyria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by ſea and land. As the moſt conſiderable cities, the poſts and harbours, which lie along the coaſt, from Pamphylia to the Helleſpont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lyſimachia, were ſubject to them; from thence they had an eye on the princes of Aſia, and even on the iſlands. How would it have been poſſible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, whilſt they had the command of Ene, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a ſtill greater diſtance? With ſo extenſive a dominion, and ſo many ſtrong places, which ſerved them as barriers, their own kingdom was ſecure. They therefore had always great reaſon to keep a watchful eye over what was tranſacting without doors. Ptolemy, on the contrary, diſdained to give himſelf that trouble; wine and women being his only pleaſure and employment.

With ſuch diſpoſitions, the reader will eaſily ſuppoſe that he could have no great eſteem for Cleomenes. The inſtant the latter had news of Antigonus's death, that the Achæans were engaged in a great war with the Ætolians, that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter againſt the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things ſeemed to recal him to his native country, he ſolicited earneſtly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and munitions of war ſufficient for his return. Finding he could not obtain his requeſt, he deſired that he at leaſt might be ſuffered to depart with his family, and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for re-poſſeſſing himſelf of his kingdom. But

* Polyb. l. v. p. 380—385.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy was too much employed in his pleaſures, to lend an ear to Cleomenes's entreaties.

Soſibes, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, aſſembled his friends; and in this council a reſolution was formed, not to furniſh Cleomenes either with a fleet or proviſions. They believed that a needleſs expence; for, from the death of Antigonus, all affairs without doors had ſeemed to them of no importance. Beſides, this council were apprehenſive, that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was none to oppoſe Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conqueſt of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt: what increaſed their fears was, his having thoroughly ſtudied the ſtate of their kingdom, his knowing its ſtrong and weak ſide, his having the king in the utmoſt contempt, and ſeeing a great many parts of the kingdom ſeparated and at a great diſtance, which an enemy might have a thouſand opportunities of invading. For theſe reaſons, it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet and other ſuccours he deſired. On the other ſide, to give ſo bold and enterpriſing a prince leave to depart, after having refuſed him in ſo contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been put upon him. Soſibes was therefore of opinion, that it was not even ſafe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had let drop, came then into his mind. In a council, where Magas was the ſubject of the debate, that prime miniſter was afraid leſt this prince ſhould prevail with the foreign ſoldiers to make an inſurrection: "I anſwer for them," ſays Cleomenes, ſpeaking of thoſe of Peloponneſus; "and you may depend, that upon the "firſt ſignal I gave, they all will take up arms in your favour." This made Soſibes heſitate no longer: on a fictitious accuſation, and which he corroborated by a letter he himſelf had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to ſeize his perſon, and to impriſon him in a ſecure place, and maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of ſeeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepeſt affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed ſuch a reſolution, in concert with thoſe friends who uſed to viſit him, as deſpair only could ſuggeſt; and this was, to return the injuſtice of Ptolemy by force of arms; to ſtir up his ſubjects againſt him; to die a death worthy of Sparta; and not to wait, as ſtalled victims, till it was thought proper to ſacrifice them.

His

His friends having found means to get him out of the prison, they all ran in a body, with drawn swords, into all the streets; exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover their liberty; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and some other noblemen who came to oppose them, and afterwards ran to the citadel, with intention to force the gates of it, and set all the prisoners at liberty; but they found these shut and strongly barricadoed. Cleomenes now lost all hopes, ran up and down the city, during which not a soul either followed or opposed him; but all fled through fear. But seeing it would be impossible for them to succeed in their enterprise, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's swords, to avoid the infamy of punishment. Thus died Cleomenes, after reigning 16 years over Sparta. The king caused his body to be hanged on a cross, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them, to be put to death. When that unhappy princess was brought to the place of execution, the only favour she asked was, that she might die before her children. But they began with them; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itself; after which she presented her neck to the executioner, saying only these words, "Ah! my dear children, to what a place did you "come!"

The design of Agis and Cleomenes to reform Sparta, and revive its ancient discipline, was certainly very laudable in itself: and both had reason to think, that in a state wholly infected and corrupted as that of Sparta then was, to pretend to reform abuses one after another, and remedy disorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of an Hydra; and therefore that it would be absolutely necessary to root up the evil at one blow. However, I cannot say whether Plato's maxim * should not take place here, *viz.* that nothing should be attempted in a state, but what the citizens might be prevailed on to admit by gentle means; and that violence should never be employed. Are there not some diseases in which medicines would only hasten death? And have not † some disorders gained so great an ascendant in a state, that to attempt a reformation at such a time, would only discover the impotency of the magistrates and laws?

* Jubet Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer sequor, Tantum contendere in republica, quantum probare civibus tuis possis: vim neque parenti neque patriæ afferre oportere. Cic. l. i. Epist. 9. ad Famil.

† Decebat omittere potius prævalida et adulta vitia, quam hoc adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 53.

But,

But, a circumstance which admits of no excuse in Cleomenes, is, his having, against all the laws of reason and justice, murdered the Ephori, in order to get success in his enterprise: a conduct absolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king, and which at the same time seemed to give a sanction to those tyrants, who afterwards made such wild havoc in Lacedæmonia: and indeed Cleomenes himself has been called a tyrant by some historians, with whom they even began * the succession of tyrants.

† During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta, the citizens had not thought of nominating kings, from the hopes they entertained that he would return again; and they always preserved the highest esteem and veneration for him: but as soon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They first nominated Agesipolis, a child descended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards they chose Lycurgus, none of whose ancestors had reigned, but who had bribed the Ephori, by giving each of them a ‡ talent, which was putting the crown to sale at a very low price. They soon had reason to repent their choice, which was in direct opposition to all laws, and never had example. The factious party, which opposed Philip openly, and committed the most enormous violences in the city, had presided in this election; and immediately after, they caused Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.

SECTION III.

VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF PHILIP.—A PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN HIM AND THE ACHÆANS, AND THE ÆTOLIANS.

We § have already related, that Philip, king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, was come to Corinth, where their general assembly was held, and that there war had been unanimously declared against the Ætolians. The king returned afterwards to Macedonia, to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war.

Philip brought over Scerdiledes to the alliance with the

* Post mortem Cleomenis, qui primus Tyrannus Lacedæmoniæ fuit.—Liv. l. xxxiv. p. 26.

† Polyb. l. iv. p. 301. ‡ 1000 crowns.

§ A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Polyb. l. iv. p. 294—306.

Achæans. He was, as has been obſerved, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whoſe ally he was, had broke their engagements with him, by refuſing to give him a certain ſhare of the ſpoils they had made at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed upon between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging their perfidy.

* Demetrius of Pharos joined alſo with Philip. We have already ſeen that the Romans, in whoſe favour he had declared at firſt, had beſtowed on him ſeveral of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of thoſe petty princes had conſiſted hitherto in the ſpoils they got from their neighbours, when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear plundering the cities and territories ſubject to them. Beſides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdiledes, had failed on the ſame deſign beyond the city of Iſſus, which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty concluded with queen Teuta. For theſe reaſons the Romans declared war againſt Demetrius. Accordingly Æmilius attacked him with great vigour, diſpoſſeſſed him of his ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, and beſieged him in Pharos, from whence he eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. The city ſurrendered to the Romans. † Demetrius, being diſpoſſeſſed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms. This offended the Romans very much, who thereupon ſent ambaſſadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. However Philip, who revolved at that time the deſign which broke out ſoon after, paid no regard to their demand, and Demetrius ſpent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the ſame time raſh and inconſiderate in his enterpriſes; and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgment.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a conſiderable war, ſent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very cheerfully, though at their great danger, as they lay neareſt the Ætolians, and conſequently were moſt expoſed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praiſes their fidelity exceedingly.

The people of Epirus did not ſhow ſo much good-will, and ſeemed deſirous of continuing neuter: nevertheleſs, they engaged in the war a little after.

Deputies were alſo ſent to king Ptolemy to deſire him not to aſſiſt the Ætolians either with troops or money.

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 171—174. Liv. iv. p. 285—305—330.
† Liv. l. xxii. n. 33.

The

The Meſſenians, for whoſe ſake that war had been firſt begun, no way anſwered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, *viz.* of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at firſt for the Achæans, but the contrary faction cauſed the decree to be reverſed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occaſion, as I have ſaid before, that Ageſipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, ſon of the great Aratus, was at that time ſupreme magiſtrate of the Achæans, and Scopas was the ſame over the Ætolians.

* Philip marched from Macedonia with 15,000 foot and 800 horſe. Having croſſed Theſſaly, he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly to the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unawares, and have defeated them; but, at the requeſt of the Epirots, he laid ſiege to Ambracia, which employed him 40 days, and gave the enemy time to prepare for, and wait his coming up. They did more. Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia, made dreadful havoc, and returned in a very ſhort time laden with ſpoils, which did him prodigious honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and ſeizing on a great number of important fortreſſes. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received, that the Dardanians † intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure, he promiſed the ambaſſadors of the Achæans to return ſoon to their aſſiſtance. His ſudden arrival diſconcerted the Dardanians, and put a ſtop to their enterpriſe. He then returned to Theſſaly, with an intention to paſs the reſt of the ſummer in Lariſſa.

‡ In the mean time Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had juſt before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waſte all the open country, and did not ſpare even the temple of Dodona.

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, having left Lariſſa, arrived at Corinth, without any one's having had the leaſt notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his ſon, who commanded the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Ca-

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 325—330.

† Theſe people were neighbours of Macedonia, on the north of that kingdom.

‡ Polyb. l. iv. p. 330—336.

phyia was to be the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above 2000 natives of Elis, to lay waſte the territory of Sicyone. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except 100 were either killed or taken priſoners.

The king, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces at the rendezvous appointed, marched towards Pſophis *, in order to beſiege it. This was a very daring attempt; for the city was thought almoſt impregnable, as well from its natural ſituation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. It being the depth of winter, the inhabitants were of opinion, that no one would, or even could, attack them. Philip, however, did it with ſucceſs; for, firſt the city, and afterwards the citadel, ſurrendered after making ſome reſiſtance. As they were very far from expecting to be beſieged, the want of ammunition and proviſions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generouſly to the Achæans, to whom it was of the moſt ſignal ſervice, aſſuring them that there was nothing he deſired more than to oblige them, and to give them the ſtrongeſt proofs of his zeal and affection for their intereſt. A prince who acts in this manner is truly great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From thence, after poſſeſſing himſelf of ſome other cities, which he alſo gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waſte. It was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flouriſhing condition. Formerly this territory had been accounted ſacred, on account of the Olympic games ſolemnized there every four years; and all the nations of Greece had agreed not to infeſt or carry war into it. But the Eleans had themſelves been the occaſion of their loſing that privilege, becauſe, like other ſtates, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very conſiderable booty, with which he enriched his troops, after which he retired into Olympia.

† Among the ſeveral courtiers of king Philip, Apelles held the chief rank, and had a great aſcendant over his ſovereign, whoſe governor he had been: but, as generally happens on theſe occaſions, he very much abuſed his power, which he employed wholly in oppreſſing particular perſons and ſtates. He had taken it into his head, to reduce the Achæans to the ſame condition in which Theſſaly was at that time; that is, to ſubject them abſolutely to the commands of the miniſters of Macedo-

* A city of Arcadia. † Polyb. l. iv. p. 338, 339.

nia,

nia, by leaving them only the name and a vain ſhadow of liberty; and to accuſtom them to the yoke, he ſpared them no kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exaſperated upon that account, and accordingly aſſured him, he would give ſuch orders, that nothing of that kind ſhould happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, but in concert with their general. This was behaving with an indolent tenderneſs towards a ſtateſman, who having ſo ſhamefully abuſed his maſter's confidence, had therefore deſerved to be entirely diſgraced. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour which Philip ſhowed them, and with the orders he had given for their peace and ſecurity, were continually beſtowing the higheſt encomiums on that prince, and extolling his exalted qualities: and indeed, he poſſeſſed all thoſe which can endear a king to his people; ſuch as a lively genius, an happy memory, eaſy elocution, and an unaffected grace in all his actions; a beautiful aſpect, heightened by a noble and majeſtic air, which ſtruck the beholders with awe and reſpect; a ſweetneſs of temper, affability, and a deſire to pleaſe univerſally; to finiſh the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years: ſo that one can hardly conceive the ſtrange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

* Philip having poſſeſſed himſelf of Aliphera, a very ſtrong city, the greateſt part of the people of that country, aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of his conqueſts, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, ſubmitted to his arms. Thus he ſoon made himſelf maſter of all Triphylia.

† At that time, Chilo the Lacedæmonian, pretending he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whoſe head they had placed it, reſolved to diſpoſſeſs him of it, and ſet it on his own. Having engaged in his party about 200 citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the Ephori, who were at table together, and marched directly towards Lycurgus's houſe, intending to kill him; but, hearing the tumult, he had made his eſcape. Chilo then went into the great ſquare of the city, and exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty, making them, at the ſame time, the greateſt promiſes. Seeing, however, that he could make no impreſſion on them, and that he had failed of his blow, he ſentenced himſelf to baniſhment, and retired to Achaia. It is ſurpriſing to ſee Sparta, formerly ſo jealous of its liberty, and miſtreſs of all Greece till the battle of Leuc-

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 339—343. † Idem. p. 343, 344.

tra, now filled with tumults and inſurrections, and ignominiouſly ſubjected to a kind of tyrants, that before could not ſo much as ſuffer the name. Such were the effects of their having violated Lycurgus's laws, and eſpecially their introducing gold and ſilver into Sparta, which drew after them, by inſenſible degrees, the luſt of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all thoſe vices which are generally inſeparable from riches.

* Philip, being arrived at Argos, ſpent the reſt of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aſide the deſign he meditated of enſlaving the Achæans; but Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he repoſed the higheſt confidence, was an invincible obſtacle to his project. He therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to get rid of him; for which purpoſe he ſent privately for all thoſe who were his ſecret enemies, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his diſcourſes with him, he hinted, that ſo long as Aratus ſhould enjoy any authority in the republic of the Achæans, he (Philip) would have no power, and would be as much ſubject to their laws and uſages, as the meaneſt of their citizens; whereas, were he to raiſe to the chief adminiſtration of affairs ſome perſon who might be entirely dependent on him, he then might act as ſovereign, and govern others, inſtead of being himſelf governed. The new friends enforced theſe reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of deſpotic power pleaſed the young king; and indeed it is the ſtrongeſt temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpoſe to Ægium, where the aſſembly of the ſtates was held for the election of a new general, and prevailed ſo far by his promiſes and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whom Aratus had declared duly elected, excluded; and obliged them to make choice of Eperatus, who was his direct enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime miniſter, he did not perceive that he degraded himſelf in the moſt ignominious manner; nothing being more abhorrent to free aſſemblies, ſuch as thoſe of Greece, than to make the leaſt attempt in violation of the freedom of elections.

A perſon being choſen entirely unworthy of the poſt, as is commonly the caſe in all forced elections, Eperatus, having neither merit nor experience, was univerſally deſpiſed. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in public affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were haſtening to their ruin. Philip, who

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 344—349.

was

was blamed for all miscarriages, became sensible that very pernicious counsels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourse to Aratus, and reinstated him entirely in his friendship and confidence; and perceiving that after this step his affairs flourished visibly, and that his reputation and power encreased daily, he would not make use of any counsel but that of Aratus, as the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after such evident and repeated proofs on one side of Aratus' innocence, and on the other of Apelles' black malice, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever, and have been fully sensible which of the two had the most sincere zeal to his service? The sequel, however, will show, that jealousy never dies but with the object that excited it, and that princes seldom overcome prejudices grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this soon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refused the advantageous conditions which Philip offered them by one Amphidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that so unreasonable a refusal was owing to the ill services which Aratus did him clandestinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his interest very much at heart: that he alone had kept Amphidamus from enforcing as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do, to the inhabitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them: and on this foundation he invented a long story, and named several witnesses. The king, however, was so just, as to insist upon his prime minister's repeating these accusations in the presence of the man whom he charged with them: and this Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance, or rather impudence, as might have disconcerted the most virtuous man. He even added, that the king might lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted; firmly persuaded, that by the authority he had there, he should not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beseeching the king, not to give too much credit to the several things laid to his charge: that the justice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a person accused, was to command that a strict inquiry be made into the several articles of the accusation, and till then to suspend his judgment. In consequence of this he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce his witnesses; him especially, from whom he pretended to have heard the several particulars laid to his charge; and that they should omit none of the methods used and prescribed in stating a fact before it was laid before the public council. The king thought Aratus' demand very just and reasonable,

reaſonable, and promiſed it ſhould be complied with. However, the time paſſed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs: but how would it have been poſſible for him to do that? An unforeſeen accident brought Amphidamus, by a kind of chance, to the city of Dymæ, whither Philip was come to ſettle ſome affairs. Aratus ſnatched the opportunity, and begged the king himſelf to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with Aratus' requeſt, and found that there was not the leaſt grounds for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, but without any puniſhment being inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity emboldened him the more; ſo that he continued his ſecret intrigues, in order to remove thoſe who gave him the leaſt umbrage. Beſides Apelles, there were four other perſons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the ſame time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and aſſigned each of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent thoſe cabals which are almoſt inſeparable from the minority of an infant prince. Two of theſe noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely at the devotion of Apelles; but as to the other two, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the ſame aſcendant over them; the former of the two laſt preſided over the affairs of Peloponneſus, and the ſecond had the command of the guards. Now the prime miniſter wanted to give their employments to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wiſh them. However, he behaved in a different manner towards them; for, ſays Polybius, courtiers have the art of moulding themſelves into all ſhapes, and employ either praiſe or ſlander to gain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience, and ſpeak of him as a man worthy of the king's more intimate confidence: he did this in the view of detaining him at court, and procuring the government of Peloponneſus (a place of great importance, and which required the preſence of the perſon inveſted with it) for one of his creatures. Whenever Alexander was the ſubject of the diſcourſe, he repreſented him in the moſt odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity ſuſpected; in order to remove him from court, that his poſt might be given to ſome perſon who might depend entirely on him. Polybius will ſhow hereafter what was the reſult of all theſe ſecret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was at laſt taken in his own ſnare, and met with the treatment he was preparing

preparing for others; but we ſhall firſt ſee him commit the blackeſt and moſt abominable injuſtice in the perſon of Aratus, and even extend his criminal deſigns to the king himſelf.

* I before obſerved, that Philip, having diſcovered that he had been more than once impoſed upon, had reſtored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Supported by his credit and counſels, he went to the aſſembly of the Achæans, appointed on his account at Sicyone. On the report he made of the ſtate of his exchequer, and of the urgent neceſſity he was in of money to maintain his forces, a reſolution was made to furniſh him with 50 talents† the inſtant his troops ſhould ſet out upon their march; with three months pay for his ſoldiers, and 10,000 meaſures of wheat: and that afterwards, as long as he ſhould carry on the war in perſon in Peloponneſus, they ſhould furniſh him with 17‡ talents a-month.

When the troops returned from their winter-quarters and were aſſembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the enſuing campaign. It was reſolved to act by ſea, becauſe they thereby ſhould divide the enemy's forces, from the uncertainty they muſt be under, with regard to the ſide on which they ſhould be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

Whilſt the king, who was now returned to Corinth, was forming his Macedonians for naval affairs, and employing them in the ſeveral exerciſes of the ſea ſervice, Apelles, who found his credit diminiſh, and was exaſperated to ſee the counſels of Aratus followed, and not his, took ſecret meaſures to defeat all the king's deſigns. His view was to make himſelf neceſſary to his ſovereign, and to force him, by the ill poſture of his affairs, to throw himſelf into the arms of a miniſter who was beſt acquainted with, and then actually in the adminiſtration of them. How villainous was this! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidents, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they ſhould be intruſted. As for himſelf, he went to Chalcis, upon pretence of having ſome affairs to tranſact there; as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he ſtopped the convoys of money which were ſending to the king, and thereby reduced him to ſuch neceſſity, that he was forced to pawn his plate to ſubſiſt himſelf and his houſhold.

Philip, having put to ſea, arrived the ſecond day at Patræ; and ſailing from thence to Cephaleniaſ, laid ſiege to Paleis, a city

* Polyb. l. iv. p. 350—365. † 50,000 crowns.
‡ 17,000 crowns. § An iſland in the Ionian ſea.

whoſe

whose situation would be of great advantage to him, as a place of arms, and enable him to infest the territories of his enemies. He caused the machines of war to be advanced, and mines to be run. One of the ways of making breaches was, to dig up the earth under the very foundation of the walls. When they were got to these, they propped and supported the walls with great wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards set fire, and then retired; when presently great part of the wall would fall down. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible ardour, they very soon made a breach of 60 fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himself ever so little, the city would certainly have been taken: but he attacked the enemy very faintly, so that he was repulsed, lost a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raise the siege.

The moment he began it, the enemy had sent Lycurgus with some troops into Messenia, and Dorimachus with half the army into Thessaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diversion, to lay aside his enterprise. Deputies had arrived soon after from the Acarnanians and Messenians. Philip, having raised the siege, assembled his council, to debate on which side he should turn his arms. The Messenians represented, that in one day the forces might march from Cephalenia into their country, and at once overpower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be so suddenly attacked. Leontius enforced this advice very strongly. His secret reason was, that it would be impossible for Philip to return, as the winds would be directly contrary at that time: he therefore would be forced to stay there, by which means the campaign would be spent, and nothing done. The Acarnanians, on the contrary, were for marching directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops, declaring, that the whole country might be laid waste without the least resistance, and that Dorimachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion; and the king, who from the cowardly attack at Paleis, began to suspect Leontius, went thither also.

Having provided for the urgent necessities of the Messenians, he went from Cephalenia, arrived the second day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulph of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnæa. Immediately he commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment, to rid themselves of the greatest part of their baggage, and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip having left the baggage under a strong guard,

set

set out from Limnæa; and marching about 60 furlongs, he halted, to give his army some refreshment and rest. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall suddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius advised the king to halt for some time, giving for his reason, that as the soldiers had been fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath; but, in reality, to give the Ætolians time to prepare for their defence. Aratus, on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is swift-winged, and that Leontius's advice was manifestly traiterous, conjured Philip to seize the favourable moment, and march out that instant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to suspect him, sets out that instant, crosses the Achelous, and marches directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almost impervious road cut between very steep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætolians every year held their fairs and solemn assemblies, as well for the worship of the gods, as for the election of magistrates. As this city was thought impregnable, because of the advantage of its situation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it, the Ætolians used to leave their richest effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very safe. But how great must be their surprise, when, at the close of the day, they saw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immense spoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was resolved that the most valuable effects should be carried away; and making a heap of the rest, at the head of the camp, they set fire to that pile. They did the same with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the temple; the best were laid by for service, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of 15,000, were burned to ashes. Hitherto, every thing which had been transacted was just, and agreeable to the laws of war.

But the Macedonians did not stop here. Transported with fury at the remembrance of the wild havoc which the Ætolians had made in Dium and Dodona, they set fire to the galleries of the temple, tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were some of exceeding beauty and prodigious value. Not satisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The statues, of which there were at least 2000, were thrown down. A great number of them were broken to pieces, and those only spared which were known, by their form or inscriptions,

ſcriptions, to repreſent gods. They wrote the following verſe on the walls:

Remember Dium: Dium ſends you this.

Doubtleſs, the horror with which the ſacrileges committed by the Ætolians at Dium inſpired Philip and his allies, convinced them that they might revenge it by the commiſſion of the like crimes, and that they were then making juſt repriſals. However, ſays Polybius, the reader will allow me to think otherwiſe. To ſupport his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken even from the family of the prince whoſe conduct he here cenſures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes, king of the Lacedæmonians, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Sparta, ſo far from extending his rage to the temples and ſacred things, did not even make thoſe he had conquered feel the effects of it; on the contrary, he reſtored to them the form of government which they had received from their anceſtors, and treated them with the higheſt teſtimonies of kindneſs and friendſhip. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its ſplendor, and who defeated the Athenians at Chæronea, made them ſenſible of his power and victory by no other marks than his beneficence; reſtoring their priſoners without ranſom: himſelf taking care even of their dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bones to Athens, and giving clothes to ſuch of the priſoners as were moſt in want of them. In fine, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury againſt Thebes, which he razed to the ground, ſo far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to ſuffer his ſoldiers, even through imprudence, to do the leaſt injury to the temples, and other ſacred places: and (a circumſtance ſtill more worthy our admiration) in his war with the Perſians, who had plundered and burned moſt of the temples in Greece, Alexander ſpared and reverenced all places dedicated to the worſhip of the gods.

It would have been better, continues Polybius, if Philip, mindful of the examples his anceſtors ſet him, had ſtrove to ſhow himſelf their ſucceſſor more in moderation and magnanimity, than in empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demoliſh cities and citadels; to fill up harbours, to take men and ſhips, to carry off the fruits of the earth, and to act things of a like nature, in order to leſſen the ſtrength of the enemy and increaſe his own; but to deſtroy what either cannot do him any prejudice, or will not contribute to the defeat of the enemy; to burn temples, to break ſtatues,

ſtatues, and ſuch ornaments of a city, in pieces; certainly nothing but the wildeſt and moſt extravagant fury can be capable of ſuch violence. It is not merely to ruin and deſtroy thoſe who have done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in caſe we deſire to be thought juſt and equitable, but only to oblige ſuch people to acknowledge, and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the ſame ruin the innocent and the guilty, but rather to ſave both. Theſe are the ſentiments of a ſoldier and an heathen.

Though Philip, on this occaſion, ſhowed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view in putting to ſea, was to go and ſurpriſe the city of Thermæ, during the abſence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his deſign, he took ſo large a tour, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack, and which prevented their ſeizing ſome paſſes of mountains and defiles in which he might have been ſtopped ſhort. Some rivers were to be paſſed: it was neceſſary for them to make the utmoſt haſte, and turn ſhort upon Ætolia, by a ſwift countermarch. This Philip does, without liſtening to the advice of traitors. To lighten his army, he leaves his baggage. He goes through the ſtraits without meeting the leaſt obſtacle, and enters Thermæ, as if he had dropped from the ſkies; ſo well he had concealed and haſtened his march, of which the enemy do not ſeem to have had the leaſt ſuſpicion.

His retreat was full as extraordinary. To ſecure it, he had ſeized upon ſeveral important poſts, expecting that at his coming down, his rear guard particularly would be attacked. It was accordingly charged at two different times; however, the prudent precautions he had taken entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterpriſe ſo well concerted, ſo ſecretly carried on, and executed with ſo much wiſdom and diſpatch, ſurpaſſes the abilities of ſo young a prince as Philip, and ſeems to bear the character of a veteran warrior, long exerciſed in all the arts and ſtratagems of war. We can ſcarce doubt, and Polybius ſeems to inſinuate it evidently enough, but that Aratus, as he had been the firſt contriver of ſo noble a project, was alſo the ſoul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already obſerved, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike ſtratagem, in forming extraordinary enterpriſes, and in giving ſucceſs to them by his bold counſels, than in executing them himſelf. How happy is it for a young prince to poſſeſs a general of this character; prudent, able, verſed by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war; to be able to know the merit of theſe qualities; to

be perfectly ſenſible of their high value; to be docile to his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taſte and opinion; and to let himſelf be guided by ſuch wiſe counſels. After the happy ſucceſs of an action, the perſon whoſe advice directed it vaniſhes, and all the glory of it reflects upon the monarch. * Plutarch, who advances what I have now ſaid, thinks it equally glorious in Philip to ſuffer himſelf to be guided by ſuch good counſels, and to Aratus for having ability to ſuggeſt them.

When Philip, who had marched back the ſame way he came, was arrived at Limnæa, finding himſelf in repoſe and ſecurity, he offered ſacrifices to the gods by way of thankſgiving, for the ſucceſs they had given to his arms, and made a ſplendid banquet for his officers, who were as ſtrongly affected as himſelf with the glory he had acquired. Leontius and Megaleas were the only perſons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their ſovereign. Every one ſoon perceived that they did not ſhare with the reſt of the company in the joy which ſo ſucceſsful an expedition muſt naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they diſcovered their animoſity againſt Aratus by the moſt injurious and moſt ſhocking railleries. But words were not all; for, at their riſing from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine and fired with anger, they threw ſtones at him all the way till he was got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar, and the noiſe reaching the king, he cauſed an exact inquiry to be made into the affair; and laying a fine of twenty † talents on Megaleas, he afterwards threw him into priſon. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a crowd of ſoldiers to the king's tent, perſuaded that he would be frightened at ſeeing ſo great a body of men, and for that reaſon be prompted to change his reſolution. Being come into the king's preſence, "Who has been ſo bold," ſays he, "as to lay hands on "Megaleas, and throw him into priſon?"——"It is I," anſwered the king, in a lofty tone. This terrified Leontius; ſo that, after venting a deep ſigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after, he was bound for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then ſet at liberty.

‡ During Philip's expedition againſt Ætolia, Lycurgus, the Spartan king, had engaged in an enterpriſe againſt the Meſſenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a conſiderable body of Ætolians into Theſſaly, with an intention to lay waſte the country, and to oblige Philip to raiſe the ſiege of Pa-

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.
† 20,000 crowns.
‡ Polyb. l. v. p. 365—372.

leis,

leis, in order to go and ſuccour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception. He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia forced him to haſten thither to defend his own country. But though he made the utmoſt expedition, he arrived too late; the Macedonians having already quitted it.

Philip marched his army with almoſt incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and being arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ſhips in the harbour of Lechæum, landed his troops, began his march, and paſſing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had fixed for the rendezvous with his allies. The Spartans having heard from rumour what had paſſed at Thermæ, were truly alarmed when they ſaw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected ſo ſuddenly. Some actions paſſed, in which Philip had always the advantage; but I ſhall omit the particulars to avoid prolixity. Philip diſplayed, on all occaſions, a bravery and prudence far above his years; and this expedition was almoſt as glorious to him as that of Ætolia. After laying waſte the whole country, and taking abundance of ſpoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found the ambaſſadors of Rhodes and Chio, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace. The king, diſſembling his real intentions, told them that he had always wiſhed, and ſtill did ſo, to be at peace with the Ætolians, and therefore charged them, at their going away, to diſpoſe their maſters to it. He afterwards landed at Lechæum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in ſome more important enterpriſe.

The faction formed by Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who alſo was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed all the clandeſtine methods poſſible, to remove and deſtroy all thoſe who either oppoſed or were ſuſpected by them, and ſeeing with grief that thoſe ſecret practices had not been ſo ſucceſsful as they had flattered themſelves, they therefore reſolved to make themſelves formidable even to their ſovereign, by employing the authority they had over the forces to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their intereſt. The greateſt part of their army had ſtaid in Corinth; and they imagined, that the abſence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their deſigns. They repreſented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards, that for the ſake of the public welfare they expoſed themſelves to the greateſt toils and dangers of war;

that nevertheleſs juſtice had not been done them, nor the ancient law relating to the diſtribution of plunder been obſerved with regard to them. The young people, fired by theſe ſeditious diſcourſes, divide themſelves into bands, plunder the houſes of the greateſt courtiers, and carry their fury to that exceſs, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lechæum in great diligence. He then aſſembles the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a ſpeech intermixed with gentleneſs and ſeverity, he makes them ſenſible of their fault. In the trouble and confuſion which reigned at that time, ſome declared that it would be neceſſary to ſeize and puniſh the promoters of this inſurrection; and others, that it would be more prudent to appeaſe them by gentle methods, and forget all that was paſt.

The king was ſtill young; ſo that his authority was not entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and ſoldiery. Thoſe againſt him enjoyed the greateſt poſts in the kingdom; had governed it during his minority; had filled all employments with their creatures; had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the ſtate; had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the moſt inſinuating arts to gain their affection, dividing the whole adminiſtration among themſelves. In ſo delicate a conjuncture, he did not think it adviſeable to come to an open rupture, leſt he ſhould inflame the minds of the people by employing chaſtiſements at an unſeaſonable time. For this reaſon he ſtifled his reſentments, pretending to be very well ſatisfied; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lechæum. But after this inſurrection, it was not eaſy for him to execute in Phocis the ſchemes he had projected. Leontius having now loſt all hopes, after ſo many fruitleſs attempts, had recourſe to Apelles. He ſent courier upon courier, to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his preſence immediately. That miniſter, during his ſtay in Chalcis, diſpoſed all things in the moſt deſpotic manner, and by that means was univerſally odious. According to him, the king, being ſtill young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the dictates of his (Apelles's) will. It is certain that he arrogated to himſelf the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he ſhould think fit. The magiſtrates of Macedonia and Theſſaly, and the officers who enjoyed any employment, had recourſe to him only. In all the cities of Greece, ſcarce the leaſt mention was made of the king:

king: for whether any resolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgments passed, or honours or preferments to be bestowed, Apelles engrossed and transacted all things.

Philip had long before been apprised of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneasiness. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himself on this occasion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irresolution and servitude: but the king concealed his thoughts, and did not discover his resolutions to any body. Apelles, not knowing how the king was disposed in regard to him, but persuaded, on the contrary, that the instant he appeared before his sovereign, he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, flew from Chalcis to the support of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and splendor, and attended by a large body of officers and soldiers, advances directly to the king's palace, which he was going to enter as usual. However, the officer who attended at the gate, having been instructed before, stopped him short, and told him that his majesty was busy. Astonished at so uncommon a reception, which he no ways expected, he considered for some time how he ought to behave, and at last withdrew in the utmost confusion. *Nothing is so transient and frail as a borrowed power, not supported by foundations or strength of its own. The shining train he had caused to follow him, vanished in an instant, and he arrived at his own house, followed only by his domestics. A lively image, says Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings; a fate which the most powerful courtiers ought to dread. A few days suffice to show their most exalted state and fall. Like counters, which one moment are of the highest, and the next of the most inconsiderable value: as princes please to extend or withdraw their favours, to-day they enjoy the greatest credit, and the next are reduced to the extremes of misery and universal disgrace. Megaleas, sensible of the storm he himself might expect, now the prime minister was disgraced, thought of nothing but how he might best secure himself by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving Leontius bound for 20 talents, which he had engaged to fee his accomplices pay.

The king, whether he was unwilling to drive Apelles to des-

* Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentiæ non sua vi nixæ. Tacit. Annal. l. xiii. c. 19.

pair; whether he did not think his power ſtrong enough to exert it in an extraordinary manner; or from ſome remains of eſteem and gratitude for a guardian and governor; ſtill allowed him the honour of his converſation ſometimes, and left him ſome other honours of that kind; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of thoſe he uſed to invite to ſupper with him. Going to Sicyone, the magiſtrates offered him a houſe; but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and ſpent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elſewhere, upon pretence of their being employed upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, he cauſed him to be thrown into priſon; the pretended reaſon of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had engaged for Megaleas, but in reality to ſecure his perſon, and to ſound the diſpoſition of the troops. Leontius ſent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment ſent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius was charged with ſome new crime for which he deſerved to be impriſoned, they inſiſted that nothing might be decreed againſt him but in their preſence: that if he refuſed them that favour, they ſhould look upon this refuſal as a contempt and the higheſt injury (ſuch was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of uſing with their king): but that in caſe Leontius was impriſoned but for the twenty talents, they offered to pay that ſum among them. This teſtimony of their affection did but inflame the king's anger, and haſten the death of Leontius.

During this interval, there arrived from Ætolia ambaſſadors from Rhodes and Chio, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to conſent to a thirty days truce. Theſe aſſured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace. Philip accepted of the truce, and wrote to the allies, deſiring them to ſend their plenipotentiaries to Patræ, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himſelf ſet out immediately from Lechæum, in order to aſſiſt at it, and arrived there after two days ſail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas, from Phocis, to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the leaſt fears, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of ammunition and proviſions; to which he added expreſſions highly injurious to the king. Philip, upon reading theſe letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, ſeized both him and his ſon; at the ſame time he ſent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded againſt there; however, he did not ſtay for his trial, but

but laid violent hands on himself. A little after, Apelles and his son were also put to death.

I do not know whether history can furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and in that quality was intrusted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the regency established by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor had, on one side, inspired the young prince, as it naturally should, with sentiments of regard, esteem, respect, and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had made Apelles assume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aside. Philip did not want wit, judgment, or penetration. When he was arrived to more mature years, he perceived the hands he was fallen into, but at the same time was blind to all his master's faults. He had discovered, more than once, the mean jealousy which Apelles entertained of conspicuous merit of every kind, and his declared hatred of all such of the king's subjects as were most capable of serving him. Proofs of his taxations and oppressions were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints of them rendered the government odious and insupportable. However, all this made no impression, or but a very slight one, on the mind of the young king, over which the prime minister had gained such an influence, that he even stood in fear of him. The reader has seen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

* In the mean time, the Ætolians wished earnestly that the peace might be concluded, and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been frustrated. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young and inexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuse him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them, that in wisdom and resolution he was a man, and that they had behaved like children in all their enterprises. But having heard of the insurrection of the troops, and the conspiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they postponed the day on which they were to meet at Patræ, in hopes that some sedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wished for nothing more ardently than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully seized the opportunity with which the enemy themselves furnished him, and engaged the allies, who

* Polyb. l. v. p. 376, 377.

were

were come to the rendezvous, to continue the war. He afterwards set sail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Thessaly, in order that they might quarter, during the winter, in their own country: then coasting Attica along the Euripus, he went from Chenchreæ to Demetrias*, where he found Ptolemy, the only conspirator that survived, and caused sentence of death to be passed upon him, in an assembly of Macedonians.

All these incidents happened at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having subdued the greatest part of Cœlosyria, had sent his troops into winter-quarters. It was also then that Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmonia, fled from Ætolia in order to secure himself from the anger of the Ephori, who on a false report that this king designed to embroil the state, had assembled in the night, and invested his house, in order to seize his person. But Lycurgus, having some notion of this, fled with his whole family. However, he was recalled a little after, as soon as it was known that the suspicions raised against him were all groundless. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Eperatus was by this time universally despised by the Achæans; nobody obeyed his orders; and the country being open and defenceless, dreadful havock was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no succours, were reduced to the last extremity, and consequently could scarce furnish their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whose arrears was put off from day to day, served as they were paid, and great numbers of them deserted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader has seen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almost expired. He quitted it in the beginning of spring, and the elder Aratus was appointed to succeed him.

† Philip, in his journey to Macedonia, had taken Bylazora, the greatest city in Peonia, and the most advantageously situated for making incursions from Dardania into Macedonia; so that having possessed himself of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardanians.

‡ After taking that city, he again marched towards Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay siege to Thebes of Phthiotis, from whence the Ætolians used to make continual inroads,

* A city of maritime Thessaly.

‡ A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217.

† Polyb. l. v. p. 435.

and

and at the same time commit great waste in the territories of Demetrias, Pharsalia, and even Larissa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was equally vigorous; but at last the besieged, fearing they should be taken by storm, surrendered the city. By this conquest, Philip secured Magnesia and Thessaly, and carried off a great booty from the Ætolians.

Here ambassadors came again to him from Chio, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and also from Ptolemy, to propose the concluding of a peace. Philip made the same answer as before, that it was what he very much desired, and that they had only to inquire of the Ætolians, whether they also were inclined to it. Philip, in reality, was not very desirous of peace, but he did not care to declare himself.

He afterwards set out, with his favourites, for the Nemæan games at Argos. Whilst he was viewing one of the combats, a courier arrived from Macedonia, with advice that the Romans had lost a great battle in Tuscany, near the lake Thrasymene, and that Hannibal was master of the open country. The king showed this letter to none but Demetrius of Pharos, giving him a strict charge not to speak of it. The latter took this opportunity to represent to him, that he ought to disengage himself as soon as possible from the Ætolian war, in order to invade Illyria, and afterwards cross into Italy. He added, that Greece, already subjected in all respects, would obey him no less afterwards: that the Achæans had joined voluntarily, and with the utmost cheerfulness, in his cause: that the Ætolians, quite depressed and discouraged by their ill success in the present war, would not fail to follow their example: that if he was desirous of the sovereignty of the world (a noble ambition, which suited no prince better than himself), he must begin by conquering Italy: that after the defeat of the Romans, the news of which he had then received, the time was come for executing so noble a project, and that he ought not to delay a moment. Such counsel could not but charm a king in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising, and who, besides, was sprung from a family which had always flattered itself with the hopes of universal empire.

Nevertheless, as he was master of his temper, and governed his thoughts in such a manner, as to discover only such of them as promoted his interest (a very rare and valuable quality in so young a prince), he did not express too great an inclination for peace, though he now earnestly desired it. He therefore only caused the allied states to be told to send their plenipotentiaries

to

to Naupactum, in order to negociate a peace: and, at the earneſt deſire of the Ætolians, ſoon arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, at the head of his troops. All parties were ſo weary of the war, that there was no occaſion for long conferences. The firſt article which the king cauſed to be propoſed to the Ætolians, by the ambaſſadors of the confederate powers, was, that every one ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts. The reſt of the articles were ſoon agreed upon; ſo that the treaty was ratified, and all retired to their reſpective countries. This peace concluded by Philip and the Achæans with the Ætolians; the battle loſt by the Romans near the lake Thraſymene; and the defeat of Antiochus near Raphia *; all theſe events happened in the third year of the 140th Olympiad.

In the firſt ſeparate conference held in preſence of the king and the ambaſſadors of the confederate powers, Agelas of Naupactum, who was one of them, enforced his opinion by arguments that deſerve a place here, and which Polybius thought worthy of relating at length in his hiſtory. He ſays, it were to be wiſhed that the Greeks would never make war upon one another; and that it would be a great bleſſing from the gods, if, breathing only the ſame ſentiments, they ſhould all in a manner join hand, and unite their whole force to ſecure themſelves from the inſults of the Barbarians. But if this was not poſſible, that at leaſt, in the preſent juncture, they ought to unite together, and conſult for the preſervation of all Greece: that, to be ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſuch an union, they need but turn their eyes to the formidable armies of the two powerful ſtates actually engaged in war: that it was evident to every one, who was ever ſo little verſed in maxims of policy, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans, would not confine themſelves to the empire of Italy and Sicily, but would doubtleſs extend their projects much farther: that all the Greeks in general, and eſpecially Philip, ought to keep a ſtrict eye on the dangers with which they were threatened: that this prince would have nothing to fear, if inſtead of his attempting to ruin the Greeks, and to give the enemy an eaſier opportunity of defeating them, as he had hitherto done, he ſhould labour as much for their welfare as his own, and exert himſelf as vigorouſly in the defence of all Greece, as if it were his own kingdom: that by this means he would acquire the love and affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him in all his enterpriſes, and, by their fidelity to him, diſconcert all the projects which foreigners might form againſt his

* A. M. 3787.

kingdom:

kingdom: that if, inſtead of barely acting defenſively, he were deſirous of taking the field, and executing ſome great enterpriſe, he need but turn his arms towards the weſt, and keep an eye on the events of the war in Italy: that, provided he would only put himſelf into a condition for ſeizing ſucceſsfully the firſt opportunity that ſhould preſent itſelf, all things would ſmooth the way for the univerſal empire: that, in caſe he had any difference with the Greeks, he ſhould leave the deciſion of it to another ſeaſon: that he ought eſpecially to be careful to preſerve to himſelf the liberty of making war or peace with them, whenever he might think proper: that, in caſe he ſhould ſuffer the ſtorm which was gathering in the weſt to burſt upon Greece, it was very much to be feared, that it would then be no longer in their power to take up arms, to treat of peace, nor to determine in their affairs according to their own ſenſe, or the manner they might judge moſt expedient.

Nothing can be more judicious than this ſpeech, which is a clear prediction of what was to happen afterwards to Greece, of which the Romans will ſoon render themſelves abſolute maſters. This is the firſt time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence thoſe of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, from the ſtate of their reſpective countries, but directed all their views and attention towards Italy. The Aſiatics, and the inhabitants of the iſlands, did the ſame ſoon after. All thoſe who, from that time, had reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addreſſed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection; they no longer turned their eyes to the ſouth or eaſt, but fixed them upon the weſt. Sometimes ambaſſadors were ſent to the Carthaginians, and at other times to the Romans. Some alſo came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterpriſing genius of that prince, were afraid he ſhould come and add to the confuſion and perplexity of their affairs: which is what the ſequel of this hiſtory is upon the point of ſhowing to us.

SECTION IV.

PHILIP CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH HANNIBAL.—THE ROMANS GAIN A CONSIDERABLE VICTORY OVER HIM.

THE war between the Carthaginians and the Romans*, who

* Liv. l. xxv. n. 33, 34. et 38.

were

were the two greateſt powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations in the world. Philip, king of Macedon, imagined that this affected him the more, as his dominions were ſeparated from Italy only by the Adriatic ſea, now called the Gulf of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were ſpread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleaſed to ſee the Romans and Carthaginians at war; but, the ſucceſs of it being doubtful, he did not perceive clearly enough, which of thoſe powers it would be his intereſt to join. * But after Hannibal had gained three victories ſucceſſively, all his doubts were removed. He ſent ambaſſadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria. The principal of the ambaſſadors, Xenophanes by name, without being the leaſt diſconcerted, anſwered with a reſolute tone of voice, that he had been diſpatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendſhip with the Romans, and that he had orders to execute with the conſuls, as well as the ſenate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, in this revolt of their ancient allies, ſo powerful a monarch deſirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambaſſadors with all poſſible reſpect, and gave them a convoy for their ſafety. Being arrived in Campania, they eſcaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows: "That king Philip ſhould croſs into Italy with a fleet of 200 ſail, and lay waſte the ſea-coaſts, and ſhould aſſiſt the Carthaginians both by ſea and land: that the latter, at the concluſion of the war, ſhould poſſeſs all Italy and Rome; and that Hannibal ſhould have all the ſpoils: that after the conqueſt of Italy, they ſhould croſs into Greece, and there make war againſt any power the king ſhould nominate; and that both the cities of the continent, and the iſlands lying towards Macedonia, ſhould be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his dominion." Hannibal, on the other ſide, ſent ambaſſadors to Philip for his ratification of it; and they ſet out with thoſe for Macedonia. I obſerved elſewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preſerved by † Polybius, expreſs mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as preſent at this treaty, and witneſſes to the oaths with which this ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars which, according to Livy, were ſtipulated by this treaty.

* A. M. 3788. Ant. J. C. 216. † Polyb. l. vii. p. 502—507.

The

The ambaſſadors, who ſet out together, were unhappily diſcovered and intercepted by the Romans. Xenophanes' lie would not do him the ſame ſervice as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air, their dreſs, and ſtill more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambaſſadors were carried to Rome. The condition in which the affairs of the Romans, attacked ſo vigorouſly by Hannibal, then were, and their diſcovering a new enemy, ſo very powerful as Philip, muſt neceſſarily alarm them prodigiouſly. But it is on ſuch occaſions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conſpicuous: for without expreſſing the leaſt perplexity or diſcouragement, they took all the meaſures neceſſary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambaſſadors, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to Hannibal, which was more ſucceſsful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But theſe diſappointments prevented their forming any enterpriſe that year, and ſtill kept matters in ſuſpenſe.

* Philip was now wholly employed on his great deſign of carrying the war into Italy. Demetrius of Pharos being with him, was continually urging him to that enterpriſe; not ſo much out of zeal for the intereſt of that prince, as out of hatred to the Romans, who had diſpoſſeſſed him of his territories, which he thought it would be impoſſible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counſel that he had concluded a peace with moſt of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him day and night; ſo that even in his dreams he ſpoke of nothing but of war and battles with the Romans; and he would ſtart from his ſleep in the higheſt agitation of mind, and covered with ſweat. This prince, who was ſtill young, was naturally lively and ardent in all his enterpriſes. The ſucceſs of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predeceſſors, kindled an ardour in him, which increaſed daily.

* During the winter ſeaſon, he thought of manning a fleet; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do, but to tranſport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition, and by that means ſurpriſe the enemy when they ſhould leaſt expect it. Accordingly he made the Illyrians build 100 or 120 veſſels for him: and af-

* Polyb. l. v. p. 439. et 445—447. † Liv. l. xxiv. n. 40.

ter having exercised his Macedonians for some time in the naval discipline, he put to sea. He first seized upon the city of Oricum, situated on the western coast of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brundusium, having advice of it, set sail immediately with all the ships in readiness for sailing; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had but a slender garrison, and sent a large reinforcement to the aid of Apollonia, to which Philip had laid siege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this reinforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Apollonia stands, marched through a bye-way, and entered the city in the night, unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians imagining they were very secure, because the sea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the precautions which the rules of war prescribe, and the exactness of military discipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched silently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the soldiers asleep; and now the cries of those who were first attacked awaking the rest, they all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. The king himself, who was but half awake and almost naked, found it very difficult for him to escape to his ships. The soldiers crowded after him, and 3000 of them were either killed or taken prisoners. Valerius, who staid at Oricum, the instant he heard this news, sent his fleet towards the mouth of the river, to shut up Philip. This prince, finding it impossible for him to advance forward, after setting fire to his ships, returned by land to Macedonia: carrying with him the sorrowful remains of his troops, who seemed more like prisoners disarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.

* For some time Philip, who till then had been admired for many of those qualities which form the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character; and this change was ascribed to the evil counsels of those about him, who, to please him, were perpetually lavishing their encomiums on him, fomenting all his passions, and suggesting to him, that the grandeur of a king consisted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his subjects pay a blind implicit obedience to his will. Instead of the gentleness, moderation, and wisdom he till then had displayed, he treated cities and states not only with pride and haughtiness, but with cruelty and injustice; and having no longer, as formerly, his glory in view, he abandoned himself

* Plut. in Arat. p. 1049—1052. Polyb. l. viii. p. 518, 519.

entirely

entirely to riot and exceſſes of every kind; the too common effect of flattery, whoſe ſubtle poiſon generally corrupts the beſt princes, and ſooner or later deſtroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.

One would have imagined that the defeat before Apollonia, in covering him with ſhame, would have abated his pride, and ſoftened his temper. But this only ſoured it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was reſolved to revenge, on his ſubjects and allies, the affront he had received from his enemies.

Being arrived in Peloponneſus, a little after his defeat, he employed all the ſtratagems poſſible to over-reach and ſurpriſe the Meſſenians; but his artifices being diſcovered, he pulled off the maſk, and laid waſte the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greateſt honour and probity, was exceedingly ſhocked at ſo flagrant an injuſtice, and made loud complaints againſt it. He had before begun to retire inſenſibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and led the moſt diſſolute life: for he was not ignorant of his impure commerce with his daughter-in-law, a ſubject of the greateſt grief to him, and which, however, he had not once hinted to his ſon; from the conſideration, that it would not be of ſervice to him to inform him of his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impoſſible but this rupture muſt make ſome noiſe, Philip, whom the greateſt crimes now coſt nothing, reſolved to rid himſelf of a troubleſome cenſor, whoſe very abſence reproached all his irregularities. Aratus's great reputation, and the reſpect paid to his virtue, would not ſuffer Philip to employ open force and violence; and therefore he charged Taurion, one of his confidents, to diſpatch him ſecretly during his abſence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having inſinuated himſelf into Aratus's familiarity and friendſhip, invited him ſeveral times to dinner, and at one of them poiſoned him; not with a violent and immediate poiſon, but with one of thoſe which lights up a ſlow fire in the body, conſumes it by inſenſible degrees, and is the more dangerous as it gives leſs notice.

Aratus knew very well the cauſe of his illneſs; but as complaints would not be of any ſervice to him, he bore it patiently, without once murmuring, as a common and natural diſeaſe. One day only, happening to ſpit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and ſeeing that his friend was ſurpriſed,

he

he faid, "Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of royal friend-"ſhip." He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the 17th time.

The Achæans would have him buried in the place where he died, and were preparing ſuch a magnificent mauſolæum to his memory as might be worthy his great ſervices. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born, and changing their mourning to feſtivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and clothed in white robes, they went and fetched the corpſe from Ægium, and carried it in pomp to Sicyone, dancing before it, and ſinging hymns and odes in honour of the deceaſed. They made choice of the higheſt part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preſerver of it, which place was afterwards called Aratium. In Plutarch's time, that is about 300 years after, two ſolemn ſacrifices were offered him annually: the firſt on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which ſacrifice was called Soteria; and the other on his birth-day. During the ſacrifice, choirs of muſic ſung odes to the lyre; and the chief choriſter, at the head of the young men and children, walked in proceſſion round the altar. The ſenate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants, followed this proceſſion.

It muſt be owned that Aratus was one of the greateſt men of his time, and may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as one of the founders of the commonwealth of Achaia: it was he at leaſt who brought it to the form and ſplendor it preſerved ſo long afterwards, and by which it became one of the moſt powerful ſtates of Greece. However, he committed a conſiderable error, in calling in to the aſſiſtance of that commonwealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themſelves maſters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before obſerved, was an effect of his jealouſy of the great Cleomenes, king of Sparta.

But he was fully puniſhed for it by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his ſon met with a ſtill more deplorable fate: for that prince being become completely wicked, ſays Plutarch, and who affected to add outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poiſons, but by thoſe which deſtroy reaſon, and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit ſuch abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his ſenſes: inſomuch, that though he was at that time very young, and in the bloom of his life, his death was conſidered not as a misfortune with regard to himſelf, but as the remedy and period of his miſeries.

About

* About this time Philip engaged in a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Illyrians. He had long deſired to poſſeſs himſelf of Liſſus, but believed it would be impoſſible for him ever to take the caſtle, which was ſo happily ſituated, and ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. The city was ſeparated from the caſtle by a little valley, in which he obſerved a ſpot covered with trees, and very fit to conceal an ambuſcade. Here he poſted the flower of his troops. The next day he aſſaulted another part of the city: the inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themſelves with great bravery, and for ſome time the ſucceſs was equal on both ſides. At laſt they made a furious ſally, and charged the beſiegers with great vigour. The garriſon of the caſtle, ſeeing Philip retire fighting, imagined they ſhould infallibly defeat him; and being deſirous of ſharing in the plunder, moſt of them came out and joined the inhabitants. In the mean time, the ſoldiers who lay in ambuſcade attacked the caſtle, and carried it without great reſiſtance; and now the ſignal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about, and purſued the inhabitants as far as the city, which ſurrendered a few days after.

† M. Valerius Levinus, as prætor, had been allotted Greece and Macedonia for his province. He was very ſenſible that, in order to leſſen the forces of Philip, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to bring over ſome of his allies (of whom the Ætolians were the moſt powerful) from his intereſt. He therefore began by ſounding, in private conferences, the diſpoſition of the chiefs of the latter people; and after having aſſured himſelf of them, he went to the general aſſembly. There, after expatiating on the flouriſhing ſtate of the Romans, and proving it by their taking of Syracuſe in Sicily, and Capua in Italy, he extolled the great generoſity with which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and their conſtant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet with ſo much the better treatment from the Romans, as they would be the firſt people in that part of the world who ſhould have concluded an alliance with them: that Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whoſe power would, in all probability, be of the moſt fatal conſequence to them: that the Romans had already humbled their pride, and would oblige them not only to give up ſuch fortreſſes as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even give

* Polyb. l. viii. p. 519—521.

† A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211. Liv. l. xxvi. n. 24—26.

them cauſe to fear for their own countries: that with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broke with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the ſame conditions which had been preſcribed to them when they were admitted into it; or, in caſe of their refuſal, would make them ſubmit to the Ætolians by force of arms.

Scopas, who was at that time chief magiſtrate of the Ætolian ſtate, and Dorimachus, who of all the citizens had the greateſt credit and authority, ſtrongly enforced the arguments and promiſes of the prætor, and ſaid many more advantageous things of the grandeur and power of the Romans, becauſe they were not obliged to ſpeak ſo modeſtly on thoſe topics as Valerius Levinus, and the people would be more inclined to believe them than a foreigner who ſpoke for the intereſts of his country. The circumſtance which affected them moſt, was the hopes of their poſſeſſing themſelves of Acarnania. Accordingly the treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Elis, of Lacedæmonia, Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thrace, and Scerdiledes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty on the ſame conditions, if they thought proper. The conditions were, "That the Ætolians ſhould declare war as ſoon as poſſible againſt Philip: "that the Romans ſhould furniſh them at leaſt 25 galleys, quinqueremes, or of five benches of oars: that ſuch cities as ſhould "be taken from Achaia, as far as the iſland of * Corcyra, ſhould "be poſſeſſed by the Ætolians, and all the ſpoils and captives "by the Romans: that the Romans ſhould aid the Ætolians "in making themſelves maſters of Acarnania: that the Ætolians ſhould not be allowed to conclude a peace with Philip, "but upon condition that he ſhould be obliged to withdraw "his troops out of the territories of the Romans, and thoſe of "their allies; nor the Romans with Philip, but on the ſame "terms." Immediately hoſtilities commenced. Philip was diſpoſſeſſed of ſome cities, after which Levinus retired to Corcyra, fully perſuaded that the king had ſo much buſineſs, and ſo many enemies upon his hands, that he would have no time to think of Italy or Hannibal.

Philip was now in winter-quarters at Pella, when advice was brought him of the new treaty of the Ætolians. To be the ſooner able to march out againſt them, he endeavoured to ſettle the affairs of Macedonia, and to ſecure it from any invaſions of its neighbours. Scopas, on the other ſide, makes preparations

* Corfu.

for

for carrying on the war againſt the Acarnanians, who, though they ſaw it would be abſolutely impoſſible for them to oppoſe, at one and the ſame time, two ſuch powerful ſtates as the Ætolians and Romans, yet took up arms out of deſpair rather than from prudential motives, and reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. Accordingly, having ſent into Epirus, which lay very near them, their wives, children, and the old men who were upwards of 60, all thoſe who remained, from the age of 15 to 60, engaged themſelves by oath never to return except victorious, uttered the moſt dreadful imprecations againſt ſuch among them as ſhould break their oaths, and only deſired the Epirots to bury in the ſame grave all who ſhould fall in the battle, with the following inſcription over them: "*Here lie the "Acarnanians, who died fighting for their country, againſt the "violence and injuſtice of the Ætolians.*" Full of courage, they ſet out directly, and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers of their country. Their great reſolution and bravery terrified the Ætolians, who alſo received advice that Philip was already upon his march, to the aid of his allies. Upon this they returned home, and Philip did the ſame.

In the very beginning of the ſpring, Levinus beſieged Anticyra *, which ſurrendered a little after. He gave this city to the Ætolians, keeping only the plunder for himſelf. Here news was brought him, that he had been nominated conſul in his abſence, and that P. Sulpitius was coming to ſucceed him as prætor.

† In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians, ſeveral other powers had been invited to accede to it; and we find that Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiledes, accepted of the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate theſe princes. Chleneas, their repreſentative or deputy, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them; the deſign they had always harboured, and ſtill entertained, of enſlaving all Greece; particularly the ſacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ, and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Meſſenians. He added, that they had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from the Achæans, who, after all the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the laſt campaign, would think it a great happineſs to be able to defend their own country: that with reſpect to Philip, when he ſhould find the Ætolians invade him by land, and the Romans and Attalus by ſea, he would

* A city of Achaia in Phocis. † Polyb. l. ix. p. 561—571.

not

not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded with desiring the Lacedæmonians to persist in their alliance with Ætolia, or at least to stand neuter.

Lysiscus, the representative of the Acarnanians, spoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the services which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece, by invading and ruining the Persians, its most ancient and most cruel enemies. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the gentleness and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He insisted that it would be ignominious, as well as dangerous, to suffer Barbarians (for so he called the Romans) to enter Greece. He said, that it was worthy of the Spartan wisdom, to foresee from far the storm already gathering in the West, and which would certainly break, first upon Macedonia, and afterwards all Greece, whom it would involve in ruin. "From what motive "did your ancestors," continued he, "throw into a well the man "who came, in Xerxes' name, to invite them to submit themselves to, and join with that monarch? Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with his 300 Spartans, brave and defy death? "Was it not merely to defend the common liberties of Greece? "And now you are advised to give them up to other Barbarians, "who the more moderate they appear, are so much the more "dangerous. As to the Ætolians," says he, "if it be possible "for them to stoop so low, they may dishonour themselves by "so shameful a prevarication. This, indeed, would be natural "for them to do, as they are utter strangers to glory, and affected with nothing but sordid views of interest. But as to you, "O Spartans, who are born defenders of the liberty and honour "of Greece, you will sustain that glorious title to the end."

The fragment of Polybius, where these two speeches are repeated, goes no farther, and does not inform us what was the result of them. However, the sequel of the history shows, that Sparta joined with the Ætolians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whose intrigues and disputes, being carried to the utmost height, occasioned great disturbances in the city. One faction was warm for Philip, and the other declared openly against him, which latter prevailed. We find it was headed by Machanidas, who, taking advantage of the feuds which infested the commonwealth, seized upon the government, and made himself tyrant of his country.

*P. Sulpitius and king Attalus being arrived with their fleet

* A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208. Liv. l. xxvii. n. 29—33. Polyb. l. x. p. 612.

to

to succour the Ætolians, the latter were flushed with the most sanguine hopes, and the opposite party filled with terror; especially as Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the territories of the Achæans, whose near neighbour he was. Immediately the latter people and their allies sent a deputation to king Philip, and solicited him to come into Greece to defend and support them. Philip lost no time. The Ætolians, under Pyrrhias, who that year had been appointed their general in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia*. Pyrrhias had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had sent him. Philip defeated him twice, and the Ætolians were forced to shut themselves up in Lamia. As to Philip, he retired to † Phalara with his army.

During his stay there, ambassadors came from Ptolemy king of Egypt, from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chio; all with instructions to use their utmost endeavours for re-establishing a lasting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not so much out of good-will for the latter, as from the uneasiness they were under in seeing Philip engage so strenuously in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than suited their interests: for his conquests over the Ætolians and their confederates paved the way for his subjecting all Greece, to which his predecessors had always aspired, and even gave him access to those cities (out of Egypt) which Ptolemy possessed. Philip, however, suspended the debates on the peace, till the next assembly of the Achæans, and in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for 30 days. Being come into the assembly, the Ætolians made such very unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Philip, offended that the vanquished should take upon them to prescribe laws to him, declared, that at his coming into the assembly, he had not depended in any manner on the justice and sincerity of the Ætolians, but that he was very glad to convince his allies, he himself was sincerely desirous of peace, and that the Ætolians were the only people who opposed it. He set out from thence, after having left 4000 of his troops to defend the Achæans, and went to Argos, where the Nemæan games were going to be exhibited, the splendor of which he was desirous of augmenting by his presence.

While he was busied in solemnizing these games, Sulpitius having set out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyone and Corinth, laid waste all the open country. Philip upon this news

* A city of Thessaly in Phthiotis. † A city of Thessaly.

left

left the games, marched with ſpeed againſt the enemy, and meeting them laden with ſpoils, put them to flight, and purſued them to their ſhips. Being returned to the games, he was received with univerſal applauſe; and particularly, becauſe he had laid down his diadem and robes of ſtate, and mixed indiſcriminately with the reſt of the ſpectators; a very pleaſing as well as ſoothing ſight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, ſo his enormous exceſſes ſoon made him odious. It was now his cuſtom to go at night into people's houſes in a plebeian dreſs, and there practiſe every kind of licentiouſneſs. It was not ſafe for fathers and huſbands to oppoſe him on theſe occaſions, for fear of being murdered.

Some days after the ſolemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whoſe captain-general was Cycliadus, having croſſed the river of Lariſſa, advances as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garriſon. The firſt day, he laid waſte the neighbouring lands; afterwards he drew near the city in battle-array, and cauſed ſome bodies of horſe to advance to the gates, to force the Ætolians to make a ſally. Accordingly they came out; but Philip was greatly ſurpriſed to find ſome Roman ſoldiers among them. Sulpitius having left Naupactum with 15 gallies, and landed 4000 men, had entered the city of Elis in the night. † The fight was very bloody. Demophantes, general of the cavalry of Elis, ſeeing Philopœmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks, and ſpurred towards him with great impetuoſity. The latter waited for him with the utmoſt reſolution, and preventing his blow, laid him dead with a thruſt of his pike at his horſe's feet. Demophantes being thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopœmen before, and ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other ſide, the infantry of Elis had fought with advantage. And now the king, perceiving that his troops began to give way, ſpurred his horſe into the midſt of the Roman foot. His horſe being wounded with a javelin, threw him. It was then that the battle grew furious, both ſides making extraordinary efforts; the Romans to take Philip priſoner, and the Macedonians to ſave him. The king ſignalized his courage on this occaſion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot in the midſt of the cavalry, and a great ſlaughter was made in this engagement. At laſt, being carried off by his ſoldiers, and remounted on another horſe, he retired.

† Plut. in Philop. p. 360.

The

The king encamped about five miles from that place; and the next day, having attacked a caſtle, in which a great number of peaſants, with all their flocks, were retired, he took 4000 priſoners, and 20,000 head of cattle of all ſorts: an advantage which might conſole him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.

That inſtant, advice was brought him that the barbarians had made an incurſion into Macedonia; upon which he immediately ſet out, to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of 2500 men. Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Egina, where he joined king Attalus, and paſſed the winter. Some time after, the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Meſſene, in which they had the advantage.

SECTION V.

EDUCATION AND GREAT QUALITIES OF PHILOPOEMEN.

PHILOPOEMEN†, of whom large mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia in Peloponneſus. He was nobly educated by Caſſander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important ſervices he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governor to his ſon Philopœmen.

Being come to the years of diſcretion, he was put under the care of Ecdemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been ſcholars to Arceſilaus, founder of the new academy. The ſcope of philoſophy in thoſe days was, to prompt mankind to ſerve their country; and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republics, and tranſact the greateſt affairs of ſtate. This was the ineſtimable advantage the two philoſophers in queſtion procured Philopœmen, and rendered him the common bleſſing of Greece. And, indeed, as it is ſaid that mothers love thoſe children beſt which they bring forth when advanced in years, Greece, as having given birth to Philopœmen in old age, and after ſo many illuſtrious perſonages, had a ſingular affection for, and took a pleaſure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increaſed. He was called "the laſt of the Greeks," as Brutus was afterwards called "the laſt of the Romans;" undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopœmen, had produced no great man worthy of her ancient glory.

† Plut. in Philop. p. 356—361.

Having

Having formed himſelf upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and reſolving upon affairs; his activity and boldneſs in executing; and his perfect diſintereſtedneſs; but as to his gentleneſs, patience, and moderation with regard to the feuds and diviſions which uſually break out in a ſtate, theſe he could never imitate. A certain ſpirit of contention, which reſulted naturally from his headſtrong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military than political virtues.

And, indeed, from his infancy, the only claſs of people he loved was ſoldiers; and he took a delight only in ſuch exerciſes as were neceſſary to qualify him for the profeſſion of arms, ſuch as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the javelin. And as he ſeemed, by his muſcles and ſtature, to be very well made for wreſtling, and ſome particular friends adviſing him to apply himſelf to it, he aſked them, whether this exerciſe of the athletæ contributed to the making a man the better ſoldier? His friends could not help anſwering, that the life of the athletæ, who were obliged to obſerve a fixed and regular regimen; to eat a certain food, and that always at ſtated hours; and to devote a certain number of hours to ſleep, in order to preſerve their robuſtneſs, in which the greateſt part of their merit conſiſted; that this way of life, I ſay, differed entirely from that of ſoldiers, who frequently are obliged to ſubmit to hunger and thirſt, cold and heat, and have not always fixed hours either for eating or ſleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the higheſt contempt for the athletic exercifes; looking upon them as of no ſervice to the public, and conſidering them, from that inſtant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of ſoul, happineſs of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governors and maſters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis ſent to make incurſions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and ſlaves; and in all theſe inroads, he was ever the firſt that marched out, and the laſt who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the field, he uſed to employ his leiſure in hunting, to make himſelf robuſt and nimble, or elſe uſed to ſpend his hours in throwing up and cultivating the ground, having a fine eſtate three miles from the city, whither he uſed to retire very frequently after dinner or ſupper. At night he would throw himſelf on a bed of ſtraw, like one of his ſlaves, and ſleep ſo till next day. The next morning, by day-break, he uſed to go with his vine-dreſſers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peaſants. After this

it

it was his cuſtom to return to the city, and employ himſelf in public affairs with his friends and the magiſtrates.

Whatever he got in wars, he expended either in horſes and arms, or employed it in ranſoming the citizens who had been taken priſoners. He endeavoured to increaſe his eſtate, by improving his lands, which of all profits is the moſt lawful, and was not ſatisfied with barely viſiting it now and then, and merely for diverſion-ſake, but devoted his whole care to it; perſuaded that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I muſt entreat my readers, in order for them to form a right judgment of Philopœmen, to convey themſelves in imagination back to the ages I am ſpeaking of, and to call to mind with what induſtry all well-governed nations, as Hebrews, Perſians, Greeks, and Romans, applied themſelves to the tilling of land and manual labour; and the high eſteem in which ſuch exerciſes were had in thoſe ages. It is univerſally known that the Romans, after having gained ſignal victories, and alighted from the triumphal car, crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies, and went to guide the plough and oxen with the ſame hands which had juſt before vanquiſhed and defeated their enemies. According to our cuſtoms and way of thinking, the exerciſes above-mentioned are very low and contemptible; but it is an unhappineſs they ſhould be thought ſo. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgments. It makes us conſider as great and valuable, what really in itſelf deſerves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanneſs, to things of ſolid beauty and real greatneſs.

Philopœmen was very fond of the commerce of philoſophers, and read their works with the greateſt ſatisfaction; however, he did not read them all without diſtinction, but ſuch only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he ſought and retained ſuch only as exalt the courage, and excite to great exploits; and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind, no writer having ever painted valour in ſuch ſtrong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopœmen delighted moſt, were thoſe of Evangelus, called the Tactics, that is, the art of drawing up troops in battle-array; and the hiſtories of Alexander the Great: for it was his opinion, that words ſhould always be made relative to actions, and theory to practice; having very little regard for thoſe books that are

written merely to satisfy a vain curiosity, or furnish a rapid and transient amusement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the Tactics, he did not value the seeing demonstrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but used to make the application on the spot, in the several places he came to: for in his marches, he used to observe exactly the position of the hills as well as valleys; all the irregularities of the ground; the several different forms and figures battalions and squadrons are obliged to take by rivulets, floods, and defiles in their way, which oblige them to close or extend themselves: and after having reflected seriously on these particulars, he would discourse on them with those in his company.

He was in his 30th year when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, attacked Megalopolis. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less, some months after, in the battle of Selasia, where Antigonus gained a famous victory over the same Cleomenes. That king of Macedon, charmed with such exalted merit, to which he himself had been witness, made him very advantageous offers, to attach him to his service. However, so great was his love for his country, that he refused them; not to mention that he had naturally an aversion to a court-life, which not only requires great subjection in the man who devotes himself to it, but deprives him of his liberty. However, as it was impossible for him to pass his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete, which was engaged in war, to improve himself in the art of war. Crete served him as an excellent school; so that he made great progress in it, and acquired a perfect knowledge in that science. He there found men of a very warlike disposition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to a most severe discipline.

After having served for some time in the troops of that island, he returned among the Achæans, who had heard such great things of him, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horse. The first thing he did was to inquire into the state of his forces, among whom he did not find the least order or discipline. But he could neither dissemble nor suffer such a degeneracy. He himself therefore went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men, inspiring them with sentiments of honour, animating them with promises of reward, and sometimes employing severity and punishment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exercised and reviewed them often, or made them engage in tournaments, or such sports as would admit of the greatest number of spectators.

By

By this practice he soon made all his soldiers so robust, expert, and courageous, and at the same time so ready and nimble, that the several evolutions and motions, to the right, to the left, or from the top to the bottom, either of all the squadrons together, or of each trooper singly, was performed with so much skill and ease, that a spectator would almost have concluded, that this cavalry, like one individual body, moved itself spontaneously, at the impression of one and the same will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the last we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horse, he gained great honour; and it was said universally, that he was not inferior to any of the private soldiers with regard to the strength and ardour of his attacks, nor showed less wisdom and prudence than the oldest and most experienced generals; and that therefore he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus, indeed, was the first who raised the Achæan league to the exalted pitch of glory and power it attained. Till he rose, they were weak and greatly despised, because divided, and every city among them was studious of nothing but its private interest. But Aratus made them formidable, by uniting and allying them together; and his design was to form one body and one power of all Peloponnesus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The success of his enterprises was not owing so much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, address, affability, benevolence, and (which was considered as a defect in his politics) to the friendship he contracted with foreign princes, and which indeed subjected his state to them. But the instant Philopœmen assumed the reins of government, as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his former battles, he rouzed the courage of the Achæans; and finding they were able to make head alone against their enemies, he obliged them to shake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a number of improvements in the discipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of their exercise, and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to use large and ponderous shields; gave them strong lances, helmets, and armour for the breast and thigh; and thereby accustomed them to fight vigorously, and gain ground, instead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather skirmish than fight in line of battle.

He afterwards endeavoured at another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one sense, and this was, to curb and restrain their luxury, and excessive profusion and expence. I say, to restrain; imagining that it would

not be poſſible for him to eradicate their violent fondneſs for dreſs and outward ornaments. He began by ſubſtituting a different object in their place, by inſpiring them with a love for another kind of magnificence, *viz.* to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their horſes, their arms, and other things relating to war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now ſpent their whole time in working for their huſbands or children. The only things now ſeen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers tinged with the brighteſt dyes; coats of mail for horſemen, and cloaks for the ſoldiers; all which they embroidered. The bare ſight of theſe habits inflamed their courage, breathed in them a ſtrong deſire to defy the greateſt dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in queſt of glory. Pomp in all other things which attract the eye, ſays Plutarch, infallibly induces luxury, and inſpires all thoſe who take a pleaſure in gazing upon it, with a ſecret effeminacy and indolence; the ſenſes, inchanted and dazzled by theſe deceitful charms, conſpiring to ſeduce the mind itſelf, and to enervate it by their ſoft inſinuations: but, on the contrary, that magnificence whoſe object is arms animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of thinking. * Plutarch obſerves, that Brutus, who had accuſtomed his officers not to be ſuperfluous on any other occaſion, was perſuaded that the richneſs and ſplendor of the armour and weapons which ſoldiers have always in their hands, or on their bodies, exalt the courage of men who are naturally brave and ambitious, and engages ſuch as are of a covetous temper to exert themſelves the more in fight, in order to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable poſſeſſion. The author in queſtion tells us, that the circumſtance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards, was, his beſtowing on them, with a very liberal hand, gold and ſilver to adorn their helmets, and enrich their ſhields. This was alſo the opinion of Cæſar†, who always gave his ſoldiers arms that glittered with gold and ſilver; and this he did not only for pomp and ſplendor, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, for the defence of arms of ſo great a value.

However, I muſt not omit obſerving, that generals, no leſs renowned than thoſe we have mentioned, differed in opinion from

* Plut. in Brut. p. 1001.

† Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento et auro politis armis ornaret, ſimul et ad ſpeciem, et quo tenaciores eorum in prælio eſſent metu damni. Sueton. in Julius Cæſar, c. 67.

them.

them. * Mithridates, taught by his misfortunes, of the little advantage which ſplendor is to an army, would not allow ſuch arms as were gilded and enriched with precious ſtones, and began to conſider them as the riches of the conqueror, and not the ſtrength of thoſe who wore them. Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, repaid the affront which the Romans had received at the Furcæ Caudinæ, ſaid † to his troops, that it was proper for a ſoldier to appear with a rough and ſtern aſpect; that ornaments of gold and ſilver ill became him; and that ſteel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, adds he, gold and ſilver are rather ſpoils than arms. Theſe ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle, but make a moſt hideous appearance in the midſt of blood and ſlaughter. The ſoldier's ornament is his valour; the reſt is always conſequential of victory. A rich enemy falls a prey to the conqueror, how poor ſoever he may be. It is well known, that Alexander the Great ‡ entertained the ſame idea of the richneſs and magnificence of the arms of the Perſians.

In this oppoſition of opinions, it does not become me to pronounce which of thoſe great men had the moſt juſt way of thinking. But however this be, we cannot but admire the judgment of Philopœmen, who, ſeeing luxury prevalent and eſtabliſhed in his country, did not think it adviſeable to baniſh it entirely, but contented himſelf with directing it to an object more laudable in itſelf, and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accuſtomed the young men to make their ſplendor conſiſt in that of their arms, he himſelf exerciſed and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military diſcipline. On the other ſide, the youths were very attentive to the inſtructions he gave them concerning military evolutions; whence there aroſe a kind of emulation among them, which ſhould execute them with the greateſt eaſe and diligence. They were prodigiouſly pleaſed with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; becauſe they conceived,

* Plut. in Lucull. p. 496.

† Horridum militem eſſe debere, non cœlatum auro argentoque, ſed ferro et animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam verius quam arma eſſe; nitentia ante rem, deformia inter ſanguinem et vulnera. Virtutem eſſe militis decus, et omnia illa victoriam ſequi: et ditem hoſtem quamvis pauperis victoris, præmium eſſe. Liv. l. ix. n. 40.

‡ Aciem hoſtium auro purpuraque fulgentem intueri jubebat, prædam non arma geſtantem. Irent, et imbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 10.

that where the ranks were so very close, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, felt much lighter, because they took greater delight in carrying them, from their splendour and beauty; and for this reason they panted to try them, and to see them imbrued in the blood of their enemies.

It must be confessed that Philopœmen, in what light soever we view him, is a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imition of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too strongly exhort young officers and noblemen to study diligently so perfect a model, and to imitate him in all those things in which he is imitable by them. Our young noblemen are full of courage, sentiments of honour, love of their country, and zeal for their prince. The war which broke out so suddenly in Europe, and to which they fly with incredible ardour, is a convincing proof of this, and especially their behaviour in Italy and on the Rhine. They have fire, vivacity, genius, and do not want talents and qualities capable of raising them to whatever is greatest: but then they sometimes want a manly and vigorous education, which alone can form great men in every kind. Our manners being unhappily turned, through a taste which prevails almost universally, towards effeminacy, pleasures, and luxury, the admiration of things trifling in themselves, and a fondness for false splendor, enervate our courage in our most tender years, and blunt the edge of that valour of ancient Gaul, which was once natural to us.

Were the youth among our nobility educated like Philopœmen, so far I mean as is consistent with our manners; were they to imbibe in their early years an inclination for studies of a solid kind, such as philosophy, history, and polity; were they to propose as models for their imitation the many illustrious generals which the last age produced; were they to put themselves under the discipline of those who are now the ornament and glory of our nation; and would they once duly consider, that true greatness does not consist in surpassing others merely in pomp and profusion, but in distinguishing themselves by solid merit; in fine, were they to make it their delight and glory to perfect themselves in the military knowledge, to study it in all its parts, and acquire the true scope and design of it, without omitting any of the means which conduce to their perfection in it; how illustrious a set of officers, commanders, and heroes, would France produce! One single man inspired the breast of the Achæans with this ardour and emulation. How much were it to be wished (and why should we not wish it?) that some one of our princes, great in all things,

things, in valour as well as birth, would revive in our armies this taſte of the ancients, for ſimplicity, frugality, and generoſity, and direct the taſte of the French nation to things truly beautiful, ſolid, and juſt! All conqueſts would be infinitely ſhort of ſuch a glory.

SECTION VI.

EXPEDITIONS OF PHILIP AND SULPITIUS.—A DIGRESSION OF POLYBIUS UPON SIGNALS MADE BY FIRE.

We * have already ſaid, that Sulpitius the proconſul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter-quarters at Ægina. As ſoon as ſpring appeared, they had quitted them, and ſailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to 60 galleys. Philip, on the other ſide, that he might be able to oppoſe the enemy either by ſea or land, advanced towards Demetrias, whither the ambaſſadors of the allies came from all parts, to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were expoſed. Philip gave them a favourable reception, and promiſed to furniſh them with ſuch ſuccours as the preſent juncture, and the neceſſity of their affairs, might require. He kept his promiſe, and ſent bodies of ſoldiers into different places, to ſecure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotuſa, and made his troops march thither from Lariſſa, which lies very near it, and then returned to Demetrias; and in order to give ſeaſonable ſuccour to ſuch of his allies as ſhould be attacked, he fixed ſignals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little iſland of Peparethos; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tiſæum, a very lofty mountain of Theſſaly, men to obſerve them, that he might have ſpeedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might deſign to attack. I ſhall explain thoſe ſignals hereafter.

The proconſul and king Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and laid ſiege to Oræa, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two caſtles ſtrongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time; but Plator, who commanded it under Philip, ſurrendered it treacherouſly to the beſiegers. He had purpoſely made the ſignals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of ſuccouring it. But the ſame did not happen to Chalcis, which Sulpitius beſieged immediately after the taking of Oræa. The ſignals were made very ſeaſonably there; and the commander,

* A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Polyb. l. x. p. 612—614. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5—8.

deaf

deaf and inacceſſible to the offers of the proconſul, prepared for a ſtout defence. Sulpitius perceived that he made an imprudent attempt, and was ſo wiſe as to deſiſt immediately from it. The city was ſtrongly fortified in itſelf, and, beſides, ſituated on the Euripus, that famous ſtrait, * in which the ſea does not ebb and flow ſeven times every day, at fixed and ſtated hours, as, ſays Livy, is commonly reported, but irregularly, whilſt the waves roll on all ſides with ſo much impetuoſity, that they ſeem like torrents falling precipitately from the mountains; ſo that ſhips can never ride there in ſafety.

Attalus beſieged Opuntus, a city ſituated not far from the ſea-ſide, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence to its aid, having marched upwards of † 60 miles in one day. The city had been juſt taken before he arrived at it; and he might have ſurpriſed Attalus, who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the inſtant he heard of his approach, retired with great precipitation. However, Philip purſued him to the ſea-ſide.

Attalus having retired to Oræa, and received advice there, that Pruſias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, he returned towards Aſia, and Sulpitius to the iſland of Ægina. Philip, after having taken ſome ſmall cities, and fruſtrated the project of Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who deſigned to attack the people of Elis, who were employed in preparing for the ſolemnization of the Olympic games, he repaired to the aſſembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought, that the ſhips of the Romans and king Attalus were ſailed away, his did the ſame.

‡ Philip was truly grieved to find, that though he employed the utmoſt diligence in all his projects, he always came too late to put them in execution; fortune, would he ſay, taking a pleaſure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in fruſtrating all his incurſions and expeditions. However, he concealed his uneaſi-

* Haud alia infeſtior claſſi ſtatio eſt. Nam et venti ab utriuſque terræ prærupta montibus ſubiti ac procelloſi ſe dejiciunt, et fretum ipſum [illegible] ripi, non ſepties die, ſicut fama fert, temporibus ſtatis reciprocat; ſed temere, in modum venti nunc huc nunc illuc verſo mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutas torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte, nec die, quies navibus datur. Liv.

† So Livy has it; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.

‡ Philippus mœrebat et angebatur, cum ad omnia ipſi raptim iſſet, nulli tamen ſe rei in tempore occurriſſe; et rapientem omnia ex oculis eluſiſſe celeritatem ſuam fortunam. Liv.

neſs

neſs from the aſſembly, and ſpoke with an air of confidence and reſolution. Having called the gods and men to witneſs, that he had never neglected any opportunity of marching out, on all occaſions, in queſt of an enemy, he added, that he did not know which ſide uſed the greateſt diſpatch; whether himſelf in flying to the aid of his allies, or his enemies in eſcaping his purſuits: that this was a tacit confeſſion that they thought themſelves inferior to him in ſtrength; nevertheleſs, that he hoped ſoon to gain ſo complete a victory over them, as would evidently demonſtrate his ſuperiority. This ſpeech greatly encouraged the allies. After having given the neceſſary orders, and made ſome expeditions of no great importance, he returned into Macedonia, to carry on the war againſt the Dardanians.

Digression of Polybius, on the Signals made by Fire.

The ſubject which Polybius here treats is curious enough in itſelf; and beſides, it bears ſo near a relation to the facts I am now relating, as to excuſe a digreſſion, that will not be of a great length, and which the reader may paſs over if he finds it tedious. I ſhall repeat it almoſt literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy, in his account of the particulars above related, and which he copied almoſt verbatim from Polybius, * mentions the ſame ſignals made by fire: but then he only hints at them, becauſe as they were not invented by the Romans, conſequently this was a ſubject which did not relate ſo immediately to the hiſtory he was writing. But this artifice of the ſignals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the hiſtory of the Greeks, and ſhows to how great a perfection they had carried all the parts of that noble art, the judicious reflections they had formed in all things relative to it, and the aſtoniſhing progreſs they had made †, in reſpect to the conſtruction of machines of war, different kinds of armour, and military ſignals.

As the making ſignals by fire, ſays Polybius, though of great uſe in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy, I believe it will not be proper to paſs over them ſuperficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

* Philippus, ut ad omnes hoſtium motus poſſet occurrere, in Phocidem atque Eubœam, et Peparethum mittit, qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparerent: ipſe in Tiſæo (mons eſt in altitudinem ingentem cacuminis editi) ſpeculam poſuit, ut ignibus procul ſublatis, ſignum, ubi quid molirentur hoſtes, momento temporis acciperet. Liv. l. xxviii. n. 5.

† Polyb. l. x. p. 614—618.

It is a truth univerſally acknowledged, that opportunity is of great advantage in all things, but eſpecially in war. Now, among the ſeveral things which have been invented to enable men to ſeize it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than ſignals made by fire. Whether tranſactions have happened but a little before, or are then tranſacting, they may, by this method, be very eaſily made known, at places diſtant three or four days journey from where they happened, and ſometimes at a ſtill greater diſtance; and by this help the neceſſary aids may be obtained in time.

Formely, this method of giving notice was of very little advantage, becauſe of its too great ſimplicity; for, in order to the making uſe of it, it was neceſſary that certain ſignals ſhould be agreed upon; and as events are infinitely various, it was impoſſible to communicate the greateſt part of them by this method. As for inſtance, not to depart from the preſent hiſtory, it was very eaſy to make known, at a diſtance, that a fleet was arrived at Oræa, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis, becauſe the parties whom it concerned had foreſeen this, and accordingly had agreed upon ſuch ſignals as might denote it: but an unexpected inſurrection, a treaſon, an horrid murder committed in a city, and ſuch like accidents as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreſeen; this kind of events, which require immediate conſideration and remedy, cannot be ſignified by a beacon; for it is not poſſible to agree upon a ſignal for ſuch events as it is impoſſible to foreſee.

Æneas*, who wrote a treatiſe on the duties of a general, endeavoured to complete what was wanting on this occaſion; but he was far from ſucceeding ſo well as could have been wiſhed, or as he himſelf had propoſed, of which the reader may now judge.

Thoſe, ſays he, who would give ſignals to one another, upon affairs of importance, muſt firſt prepare two veſſels of earth, exactly equal in breadth and depth; and they need be but four feet and an half deep, and a foot and an half wide. They then muſt take pieces of cork, proportioned to the mouth of theſe veſſels, but not quite ſo wide, that they may be let down with

* Æneas was cotemporary with Ariſtotle. He wrote a treatiſe on the art of war. Cineas, one of Pyrrhus's counſellors, made an abridgment of it. Pyrrhus alſo wrote on the ſame ſubject. Ælian. Tact. cap. 1. Cicero mentions the two laſt in one of his epiſtles. "Summum me ducem "literæ tuæ reddiderunt. Plane neſciebam te tam peritum eſſe rei mili- "taris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineæ video lectitaſſe." Lib. ix. Epiſt. 25. ad Papir. Pœtam.

eaſe

eaſe to the bottom of theſe veſſels. They next fix in the middle of this cork a ſtick, which muſt be of equal ſize in both theſe veſſels. This ſtick muſt be divided exactly and diſtinctly by ſpaces of three inches each, in order that ſuch events as generally happen in war may be written on them. For example, in one of theſe intervals the following words may be written: "A body of horſe are marched into the country." On another, "A body of infantry, heavily armed, are arrived hither." On a third, "Infantry lightly armed." On a fourth, "Horſe and foot." On another, "Ships." Then, "Proviſions:" and ſo on, till all the events which may probably happen in the war that is carrying on are written down in theſe intervals.

This being done, each of the two veſſels muſt have a little tube or cock of equal bigneſs, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then the two veſſels muſt be filled with water; the pieces of cork, with their ſticks thruſt through them, muſt be laid upon them, and the cocks muſt be opened. Now it is plain that as theſe veſſels are equal, the corks will ſink, and the ſticks deſcend lower in the veſſels, in proportion as they empty themſelves. But to be more certain of this exactneſs, it will be proper to make the experiment firſt, and to examine whether all things correſpond and agree together by an uniform execution on both ſides.

When they are well aſſured of this, the two veſſels muſt be carried to the two places where the ſignals are to be made and obſerved; water is poured in, and the corks and ſticks are put in the veſſels. In proportion, as any of the events which are written on the ſticks ſhall happen, a torch or other light is raiſed, which muſt be held aloft till ſuch time as another is raiſed by the party to whom it is directed. This firſt ſignal is only to give notice that both parties are ready and attentive; then the torch or other light muſt be taken away, and the cocks ſet open. When the interval, that is, that part of the ſtick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, ſhall be fallen to a level with the veſſels, then the man who gives the ſignal lifts up his torch; and, on the other ſide, the correſpondent ſignal-maker immediately turns the cock of his veſſel, and looks at what is writ on that part of the ſtick which touches the mouth of the veſſel; on which occaſion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both ſides, both will read the ſame thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practiſed in early ages, in which men agreed only upon a ſingle ſignal, which

which was to denote the event the other party desired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon, it nevertheless was too vague and indeterminate; for it is impossible to foresee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and though they could be foreseen, there would be no possibility of writing them all on a piece of stick. Besides, when any unexpected accident should happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? To this I may add, that the inscription on the stick is no ways exact and circumstantial. We are not told how many horse and foot are come; what part of the country they are in; how many ships are arrived; nor the quantity of provisions they have: for before these several particulars could be written on the stick, they must have been foreseen, which was altogether impossible, though most essential; and how can succours be sent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be opposed, nor in what part of the country they are? How must a party either confide in or doubt their own strength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are not told how many ships, or what quantity of provisions are come from the enemy?

The last method was invented by Cleoxenes, which others ascribe to Democlitus; however we have improved it, says Polybius, who continues the sole speaker upon this head. This fixes every circumstance, and enables us to give notice of whatsoever happens. The only thing required is great care and exactness. This method is as follows:

The 24 letters of the alphabet must be taken and divided into five parts; and these must be fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order in five columns; five letters in each column, the last excepted, which is to have but four.

The alphabet being disposed in this manner, the man who is to make the signal must begin by showing two torches or lights; and these he must hold aloft till the other party has also shown two lights. This first signal is only to show that both sides are ready, after which the lights must be removed.

The affair now is, to make the other party read in this alphabet the advices we want to acquaint them with. The person who gives the signal shall hold up torches to his left, in order to denote to the correspondent party from which of the columns he must take letters, to write them down in proportion as they shall be pointed out to him; so that if it is the first column, he only holds up one torch, if the second, he shows two, and so on, and always to the left. He must do the same to the right hand,

hand, to point out to the perſon who receives the ſignal, which letter in the column he muſt obſerve and write down. This both parties muſt agree upon between them.

Theſe ſeveral things being fixed, and each of them got to his poſt, the man who gives the ſignal muſt have a geometrical inſtrument with two tubes, in order that he may know by one of them the right, and by the other the left of him who is to anſwer. The board muſt be ſet up near to this inſtrument; and to the right and left a ſolid muſt be raiſed ten feet broad, and about the height of a man; in order that the torches which ſhall be lifted up over it, may ſpread a ſtrong clear light; and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind them.

All things being thus diſpoſed on each ſide, I will ſuppoſe, for inſtance, that advice is to be given that "An hundred Cre-"tans, or Kretans, are gone over to the enemy." Firſt, he muſt make choice of ſuch words as will expreſs what is here ſaid in the feweſt letters poſſible, as "Cretans, or Kretans *, an "hundred have deſerted;" which expreſſes the very ſame idea in much fewer letters.

The firſt letter is K, which is in the ſecond column. Two torches muſt therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the perſon who receives the ſignal, that he muſt look into the ſecond column. He then muſt lift up five torches to the right, to denote that the letter ſought for is the fifth of the ſecond column, that is K.

Afterwards, four torches muſt be held up to the left, to point out the P †, which is in the fourth column; then two to the right, to denote that this letter is the ſecond of the fourth column. The ſame muſt be obſerved with reſpect to the reſt of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to paſs may be denoted in a fixed and determinate manner. The reaſon why two ſets of lights are uſed, is becauſe every letter muſt be pointed out twice; the firſt to denote the column to which it belongs, and the ſecond to ſhow its place in order in the columns pointed out. If the perſons employed on theſe occaſions obſerve the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice: but it muſt be practiſed a long time before they will be able to be very quick and exact in the operation.

This is what is propoſed by Polybius, who, it is well known,

* The words are diſpoſed in this manner in the Greek.

† This is the capital letter R in the Greek tongue.

was a great ſoldier and politician, and for this reaſon his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved and put in practice on a great many occaſions. Theſe ſignals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was lent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, "The art of making ſignals both by ſea and land." The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commiſſioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms, that he had communicated ſeveral times, at the diſtance of two leagues (in as ſhort a ſpace of time as a man could write down and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he would communicate), an unexpected piece of news that took up a page in writing.

I cannot ſay what this new invention was, or what ſucceſs it met with; but in my opinion ſuch diſcoveries as theſe ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very deſirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating ſpeedy advices; and of theſe, ſignals by fire are one of the principal.

* In the fabulous times, when the fifty daughters of Danaus murdered all their huſbands in one night, Hypermneſtra excepted, who ſpared Lynceus, it is related, that both flying, and each being arrived at a place of ſafety, they informed one another of it by ſignals made by fire; and that this circumſtance gave riſe to the feſtival of torches eſtabliſhed in Argos.

Agamemnon, at his ſetting out for the Trojan expedition, had promiſed Clytemneſtra, that the very day the city ſhould be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpoſe. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of Æſchylus, which takes its name from that prince: where the ſhe-ſentinel, appointed to watch this ſignal, declares ſhe had ſpent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable poſt.

We alſo find † by the writings of Julius Cæſar, that he himſelf uſed the ſame method.

Cæſar gives us an account of another method in uſe amongſt the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they ſtood in need of immediate ſuccour, they gave notice to one another by repeated ſhouts, which were catched from place to place; ſo that the maſſacre of the Romans in Orleans, at ſun-riſe, was known by eight or nine o'clock in the evening at Auvergne, 40 leagues from the other city.

* Pauſan. l. ii. p. 130.

† Celeriter, ut ante Cæſar imperaverat, ignibus ſignificatione facta, ex proximis caſtellis eo concurſum eſt. Cæſ. Bell. Gall. l. ii.

We

* We are told of a much ſhorter method. It is pretended that the king of Perſia, when he carried the war into Greece, had poſted a kind of ſentinels at proper diſtances, who communicated to one another, by their voices, ſuch news as it was neceſſary to tranſmit to a great diſtance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Suſa (upwards of 150 leagues) in 48 hours.

It is alſo related, that a † Sidonian propoſed to Alexander the Great an infallible method for eſtabliſhing a ſpeedy and ſafe communication between all the countries ſubject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, from ſo great a diſtance as between his hereditary kingdom, and his moſt remote conqueſt in India: but the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt: however, he ſoon repented it, and very juſtly; for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himſelf.

‡ Pliny relates another method, which is not altogether improbable. Decimus Brutus defended the city of Modena beſieged by Antony, who prevented his ſending the leaſt advice to the conſuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. However, Brutus employed pigeons, to whoſe feet he faſtened letters, which arrived in ſafety wherever he thought proper to ſend them. Of what uſe, ſays § Pliny, were Antony's intrenchments and ſentinels to him? Of what ſervice were all the nets he ſpread, when the new courier took his rout through the air?

Travellers relate, that to carry advices from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ſhips arrive in that harbour, they make uſe of pigeons who have young ones at Aleppo. Letters, containing the advices to be communicated, are faſtened about the pigeons' necks, or feet; this being done, the pigeons take wing, ſoar to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The ſame method is uſed in many other places.

Description of the Instruments employed in Signals made by Fire.

Mr. Chevalier, mathematical profeſſor in the royal college, a

* Cœl. Rhodig. l. xviii. c. 8.

† Vigenere, in his remarks on the ſeventh book of Cæſar's wars in Gaul, relates this without citing directly the author.

‡ Plin. l. vii. c. 37.

§ Quid vallum, et vigil obſidio, atque etiam retia amne prætexta profuere Antonio, per cœlum eunte nuntio?

fellow-member with me, and my particular friend, has been ſo good as to delineate, at my requeſt, the figure of the inſtrument mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive the idea I have of the inſtrument deſcribed by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great diſtance, by ſignals made by fire.

A B is a beam about four or five feet long, five or ſix inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dove-tailed and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two croſs pieces of wood, C D, E F, of equal breadth and thickneſs with the beam, and three or four feet long. The ſides of theſe croſs pieces of timber muſt be exactly parallel, and their upper ſuperficies very ſmooth. In the middle of the ſurface of each of theſe pieces, a right line muſt be drawn parallel to their ſides; and conſequently theſe lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and a half, or two inches, diſtance from theſe lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each croſs piece, there muſt be driven in very ſtrongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or braſs ſcrew, whoſe upper part, which muſt be cylindrical, and five or ſix lines in diameter*, ſhall project ſeven or eight lines above the ſuperficies of theſe croſs pieces.

On theſe pieces muſt be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders, G H, I K, through which the obſervations are made. Theſe tubes muſt be exactly cylindrical, and formed of ſome hard, ſolid metal, in order that they may not ſhrink or warp. They muſt be a foot longer than the croſs pieces on which they are fixed, and thereby will extend ſix inches beyond it at each end. Theſe two tubes muſt be fixed on two plates of the ſame metal, in the middle of whoſe length ſhall be a ſmall convexity, of about an inch round. In the middle of this part muſt be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter; ſo that applying the plates on which theſe tubes are fixed upon the croſs pieces of wood C D, E F, this hole muſt be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the ſcrew which was fixed in it, and in ſuch a manner as to prevent its play. The head of the ſcrew may extend ſome lines beyond the ſuperficies of the plates, and in ſuch a manner as that thoſe tubes may turn, with their plates, about theſe ſcrews, in order to direct them on the boards or ſcreens P Q, behind which the ſignals by fire are made, according to the different diſtances of the places where the ſignals ſhall be given.

* Twelfth part of an inch.

The

The tubes must be blacked within, in order that, when the eye is applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There must also be placed about the end, on the side of the observer, a perforated ring, the aperture of which must be of three or four lines; and place at the other end two threads, the one vertical, and the other horizontal, crossing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam A B must be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which must be fixed the foot L M N O P, which supports the whole machine, and round which it turns as on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and sights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferenters, theodolites, and even geometrical squares, which are used to draw maps, take plans, and surveys, &c. but it has the same uses, which is to direct the sight.

The person who makes the signal, and he who receives it, must have the like instrument; otherwise, the man who receives the signal could not distinguish whether the signals made are to the right or left of him who makes them, which is an essential circumstance, according to the method proposed by Polybius.

The two boards or screens P Q, which are to denote the right and left hand of the man who gives the signals, or to display or hide the fires, according to the circumstance of the observation, ought to be greater or less, and nearer or farther distant from one another, according as the distance between the places where the signals must be given and received is greater or less.

In my description of the preceding machine, all I endeavoured was, to explain the manner how Polybius's idea might be put in execution, in making signals by fire; but I do not pretend to say, that it is of use for giving signals at a considerable distance; for it is certain, that, how large soever this machine be, signals made by two, three, four, and five torches, will not be seen at five, six, or more leagues distance, as he supposes. To make them visible at a greater distance, such torches must not be made use of, as can be lifted up and down with the hand, but large wide spreading fires, of whole loads of straw or wood; and consequently, boards or screens of a prodigious size must be employed to hide or eclipse them.

Telescopes were not known in Polybius's time; they were not discovered or improved till the last century. These instruments might have made the signals in question visible at a much greater distance than bare tubes could have done: but I still doubt, whether they could be employed to the use mentioned by Polybius,

lybius, at a greater diſtance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion, that a city beſieged might communicate advice to an army ſent to ſuccour it, or give notice how long time it could hold out a ſiege, in order to taking proper meaſures; and that, on the other ſide, the army ſent to its aid might communicate its deſigns to the city beſieged, eſpecially by the aſſiſtance of teleſcopes.

SECTION VII.

PHILOPOEMEN GAINS A FAMOUS VICTORY NEAR MANTINEA, OVER MACHANIDAS, TYRANT OF SPARTA.

THE Romans*, wholly employed in the war with Hannibal, which they reſolved to terminate, intermeddled very little with that of the Greeks, and did not moleſt them during the two following years.

† In the firſt, Philopœmen was appointed captain-general of the Achæans. As ſoon as he was inveſted with this employment, which was the higheſt in the ſtate, he aſſembled his allies before he took the field, and exhorted them to ſecond his zeal with courage and warmth, and ſupport with honour both their fame and his. He inſiſted ſtrongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of their dreſs, which became women only, and thoſe too of little merit; but of the neatneſs and ſplendor of their arms, an object worthy of men, intent upon their own glory, and the good of their country.

His ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe, inſomuch that, at the breaking up of the aſſembly, all thoſe who were magnificently dreſſed were pointed at; ſo great an influence have the words of an illuſtrious perſon, not only in diſſuading men from vice, but in inclining them to virtue; eſpecially when his actions correſpond with his words, for then it is ſcarce poſſible to reſiſt his exhortations. This was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dreſs, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In converſation he ſuffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they uſed contemptuous expreſſions: and, for himſelf, he was ſure never to give the leaſt offence to any one. It was his ſtudy, during his life, to ſpeak nothing but the truth; and indeed the ſlighteſt expreſſions of his were heard with reſpect, and immediately believed; and he was not obliged to employ a great many words to perſuade, his conduct being a rule of what every body elſe ought to do.

* A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. † Polyb. l. xi. p. 629—631.

The

The assembly being dismissed, every body returned to their respective cities, in the highest admiration of Philopœmen, whose words as well as actions had charmed them, and fully persuaded that as long as he should preside in the government, it could not but flourish. He immediately visited the several cities, and gave the necessary orders in them. He assembled the people in every place, acquainted them with every thing that was necessary to be done, and raised troops. After spending near eight months in making the various preparations, he took the field.

* Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching, at the head of a powerful army, for an opportunity to subject all Peloponnesus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinæa, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.

The tyrant of Sparta set out upon his march at day-break, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and posted to the right and left on the same line, but a little more advanced, the light infantry composed of foreigners; and behind them chariots laden with catapultæ†, and darts to sustain them. It appears by the sequel, that before him lay a ditch, that run along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the same time Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies out of the city. The first, consisting of Achæan horse, was posted to the right. The second, composed of heavy-armed foot, was in the centre, and advanced to the ditch. The third, composed of Illyrians, cuirassiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and some Tarentine horse‡, were at the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

The time for beginning the battle approaching, and the enemy in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few, but very strong expressions. Most of them were even not heard; but he was so dear to his soldiers; and they reposed such confidence in him, that they wanted no exhortations to fight with incredible ardor. In a kind of transport they animated their general, and pressed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them understand was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themselves restored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a kind of column, as if

* Polyb. l. xi. p. 631—637. Plut. in Philop. p. 361.

† Engines to discharge darts or stones, &c.

‡ The Tarentine horsemen had each two horses. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 28.

he

he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing: but when he was advanced to a proper diſtance, he on a ſudden made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and make a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and, to cover it, he cauſed all the chariots laden with catapultæ to advance forward. Philopœmen plainly ſaw that his deſign was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and ſtones: however, he did not give him time for it, but cauſed the Tarentine horſe to begin the battle with great vigour, on a ſpot where they had room enough to engage in. Machanidas was forced to do the ſame, and to lead on his Tarentines. The firſt charge was very furious. The light-armed ſoldiers advancing a little after to ſuſtain them, in a moment the foreign troops were univerſally engaged on both ſides; and as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At laſt the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers, and dexterity acquired by experience, giving them the ſuperiority. The Illyrians and cuiraſſiers, who ſuſtained the foreign ſoldiers in Philopœmen's army, could not withſtand ſo furious a charge. They were entirely broke, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards the city of Mantinæa, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen ſeemed now loſt to all hopes. On this occaſion, ſays Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reaſonably be conteſted, That the events of war are generally ſucceſsful or unfortunate, only in proportion to the ſkill or ignorance of the generals who command in them. Philopœmen, ſo far from deſponding at the ill ſucceſs of the firſt charge, or being in confuſion, was ſolely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit. Accordingly they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on theſe occaſions, and for that reaſon cannot be too ſtrongly guarded againſt. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, inſtead of improving that advantage, by charging in front that inſtant with his infantry the centre of that of the enemy, and taking it at the ſame time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair, ſuffers himſelf, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, and purſues, without order or diſcipline, thoſe who were flying; as if, after having given way, fear would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who upon this defeat had retired to his infantry in the centre, takes the firſt cohorts, commands them to wheel to the left, and at their head marches and ſeizes the poſt which

Machanidas

Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the centre of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded theſe cohorts to ſtay in the poſt they had juſt ſeized, till further orders, and at the ſame time directed Polybius *, the Megalopolitan, to rally all the Illyrians, cuiraſſiers, and foreigners, who, without quitting their ranks, and flying as the reſt had done, had drawn off, to avoid the fury of the conqueror; and, with theſe forces, to poſt himſelf on the flank of the infantry in his centre, to check the enemy in their return from the purſuit.

But now the Lacedæmonian infantry, elated with the firſt ſucceſs of their wing, without waiting for the ſignal, advance with their pikes lowered towards the Achæans, as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether from being ſo near the enemy, they were aſhamed not to go on, or that they did not value the ditch becauſe it was dry and had no hedge; and beſides, being no longer able to retire, becauſe the advanced ranks were puſhed forward by thoſe in the rear, they ruſhed into the ditch at once. This was the deciſive point of time which Philopœmen had long waited, and thereupon he orders the charge to be ſounded. His troops levelling their pikes fell with dreadful ſhouts on the Lacedæmonians. Theſe, who, at their deſcending into the ditch, had broke their ranks, no ſooner ſaw the enemy above them, but they immediately fled; nevertheleſs, great numbers of them were left in the ditch, having been killed either by the Achæans, or their own ſoldiers.

To complete the glory of this action, the buſineſs now was to prevent the tyrant from eſcaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled; when, being ſenſible of his error, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops, perceiving that the enemy were maſters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite diſpirited, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves as well as they could. Machanidas himſelf, finding it impoſſible to paſs the bridge, hurried along the ſide of the ditch, in order to find a place for getting over it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle, and the trappings of his horſe: ſo that, after giving the neceſſary orders to his officers,

* The late tranſlator of Polybius miſtakes this officer for our hiſtorian, and here introduces him ſpeaking; which is otherwiſe in the original. Polybius the hiſtorian was not born at that time. It is true indeed that his perſon had the ſame name, and was a native of the ſame city, which makes the error more excuſable.

he

he paſſed the ditch, in order to ſtop the tyrant. The latter having found a part of the ditch which might eaſily be croſſed, claps ſpurs to his horſe, and ſprings forward in order to leap over. That very inſtant Philopœmen threw his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being ſtruck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They purſued the fugitives with incredible ardour as far as Tegea, entered the city with them, and, being now maſters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not loſe many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians loſt 4000, without including the priſoners, who were ſtill more numerous. The baggage and arms were alſo taken by the Achæans.

The conquerors, ſtruck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen ſtatue to him in the ſame attitude in which he had killed the tyrant; which ſtatue they afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo at Delphos.

Polybius juſtly obſerves, that this ſignal victory muſt not be aſcribed either to chance, or a concurrence of circumſtances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreſeen and diſpoſed all things neceſſary for this great event; and indeed from the beginning, it is Polybius who ſtill ſpeaks, and continues his reflections. Philopœmen had covered himſelf with the ditch; not to avoid coming to a battle, as ſome have imagined, but becauſe, like a judicious man and a great ſoldier, he had reflected, that ſhould Machanidas attempt to make his army paſs the ditch before he was aware of it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces, and entirely defeated; or if, being ſtopped by the ditch, he ſhould change his reſolution, and break his order of battle through fear, that he would be thought the moſt unſkilful of generals, in abandoning his victory to the enemy, without daring to come to a battle, and in carrying off no other marks of his enterpriſe, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius alſo highly applauds the preſence of mind and reſolution of Philopœmen, in his not deſponding or loſing courage when his left wing was routed, but in having made that very defeat an occaſion of his gaining a glorious victory.

Methinks theſe ſmall battles, where there are not many combatants on either ſide, and in which by that means one may follow, as it were with the eye, the ſeveral ſteps of the commanding officers, obſerve the ſeveral orders they give, the precaution

cautions they take, and the errors they commit; that these, I say, may be of great service to those who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages from the study of history.

* It is related that in the assembly of the Nemæan games, which were solemnized the year after this famous battle of Mantinæa, Philopœmen being elected general of the Achæans a second time, and having then no employment for his forces, upon account of the festival, he caused his phalanx, very splendidly clothed, to pass in review before all the Greeks, and made them perform their usual exercises, to show with what dexterity, strength, and agility, they performed the several military movements, without breaking or disordering their ranks in the least. He afterwards went into the theatre, in which the musicians were disputing for the prize in their art, accompanied by those youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful stature, and in the flower of their age; all filled with the highest veneration for their general, and fired at the same time with a martial intrepidity; sentiments with which their glorious battles and success under this illustrious general had inspired them.

The very instant that flourishing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades the musician, who was singing to his lyre the *Persians* of † Timotheus, happened accidentally to repeat the following verse:

> The wreaths of liberty to me you owe,
> The brightest crown the gods bestow.

These lofty verses being finely expressed by the singer, who had an exquisite voice, struck the whole assembly. At the same time all the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen: and clapping their hands, and raising shouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece; soothing themselves with the pleasing hopes, that they should revive those ancient times, and their pristine glory; so greatly did a general like Philopœmen increase their confidence, and inflame their courage.

And indeed, says Plutarch, as we find young colts are always fond of those they are used to, and that in case any other person attempts to mount them, they are displeased, and prance about with their new rider; the same disposition appeared in

* A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.

† This was a dithyrambic poet, who lived about the 95th Olympiad, *i. e.* 298 years before Christ. One of his pieces was entitled the *Persians*.

the

the Achæan league. The inſtant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought, if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be diſcouraged, and turn their eyes in queſt of Philopœmen; and the moment he appeared, the whole league revived, and were ready for action: ſo ſtrongly were they perſuaded of his great valour and abilities, well knowing that he was the only general whoſe preſence the enemy dreaded, and whoſe name alone made them tremble.

Can there, humanly ſpeaking, be a more pleaſing, more affecting, or more ſolid glory for a general or a prince, than to ſee himſelf eſteemed, beloved, and revered, by the army and people, in the manner Philopœmen was? Is it poſſible for any man to be ſo taſteleſs and void of ſenſe, as to prefer, or even compare to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen acquired him, the pretended glory which ſo many perſons of quality imagine they derive from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expence of their tables? Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do, but then he placed it in what it really conſiſts—the clothing his troops ſplendidly; providing them with good horſes and ſhining arms; ſupplying with a generous hand all their wants both public and private; diſtributing money ſeaſonably to encourage the officers and even private men. In acting thus, Philopœmen, though dreſſed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greateſt and moſt magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its ancient liberty by the death of Machanidas, the only conſequence of which was its changing one oppreſſor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly ſo jealous of its liberty and independence, and now abandoned to ſlavery, ſeemed by its indolence ſtudious of nothing but to make itſelf new chains, or to ſupport its old ones. Machanidas was ſucceeded by Nabis, who, though a worſe tyrant, yet the Spartans did not ſhow the leaſt ſpirit, nor make the leaſt effort to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery.

* Nabis, in the beginning of his government, was not deſirous to undertake any foreign expedition, but employed his whole endeavours to lay the ſolid foundations of a laſting and cruel tyranny. For that purpoſe, he made it his particular care to deſtroy all the remaining Spartans in that republic. He baniſhed from it all ſuch as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their quality

* Polyb. l. xiii. p. 674, 675.

and

and wealth, and gave their eſtates and wives to his creatures. We ſhall ſpeak of theſe perſons hereafter under the name of the Exiles. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and aſſaſſins, and capable of perpetrating the blackeſt crimes for gain. This kind of people, who had been baniſhed their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midſt of them as their protector and king, employing them as his attendants and guards, to ſtrengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not ſatisfied with baniſhing the citizens; he acted in ſuch a manner, that they could not find any ſecure aſylum, even in foreign countries; ſome were butchered in their journey by his emiſſaries, and he recalled others from baniſhment, with no other view but to murder them.

Beſides theſe barbarities, he invented a machine which may be called an infernal one, repreſenting a woman magnificently dreſſed, and exactly reſembling his wife. Every time that he ſent for any perſon to extort money from him, he would firſt declare, in the kindeſt and moſt gentle terms, the danger to which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was expoſed by the menaces of the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the ſecurity of his government; the great ſums he expended for the worſhip of the gods, and for the good of the public. In caſe the perſon ſpoke to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted: but if he was refractory, and refuſed to give him money, he would ſay, "Probably the talent of perſuaſion is not mine; but I hope that Apega will have ſome "effect upon you." This Apega was his wife. He no ſooner had uttered theſe words, but his machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raiſed her from her chair, and led her to his man. The hands, the arms, and breaſt, of this machine were ſtuck with ſharp iron points concealed under her clothes. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms, and laying hers round his waiſt, claſped him into her boſom, whilſt he vented the moſt lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform theſe ſeveral motions by ſecret ſprings. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, from whom he could not otherwiſe extort the ſums he demanded.

Would one believe that a man could be ſo completely wicked as to contrive, in cold blood, ſuch a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures, and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleaſure of ſeeing their agonies, and hearing their groans? It is

aſtoniſhing that in ſuch a city as Sparta, where tyranny was had in the utmoſt deteſtation; where men thought it glorious to confront death; where religion and the laws, ſo far from reſtraining men as among us, ſeemed to arm them againſt all who were enemies to liberty; it is aſtoniſhing, I ſay, that ſo horrid a monſter ſhould be ſuffered to live one day.

* I have already obſerved, that the Romans, employed in a more important war, had intermeddled very little with the affairs of Greece. The Ætolians finding themſelves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarce was the treaty concluded, but P. Sempronius the proconſul arrived with conſiderable aids: 10,000 foot, 1000 horſe, and 35 ſhips of war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace, without having firſt obtained the conſent of the Romans, contrary to the expreſs words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots alſo, tired with the length of the war, ſent deputies, with the proconſul's leave, to Philip, who now was returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almoſt ſure, if he conſented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would eaſily agree upon the conditions. The king was greatly pleaſed with theſe overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were deſirous of peace, Philip, that he might have leiſure to ſettle the affairs of his kingdom, and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war againſt Carthage with greater vigour, a treaty was ſoon concluded. The king cauſed Pruſias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Theſſalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included in it; and the Romans included the people of Ilium, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis the Spartan tyrant, ſucceſſor to Machanidas, the people of Elis, the Meſſenians, and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the confederates terminated in a peace of no long continuance.

SECTION VIII.

THE GLORIOUS EXPEDITIONS OF ANTIOCHUS.—AT HIS RETURN, RECEIVES ADVICE OF PTOLEMY PHILOPATER'S DEATH.

THE hiſtory of the wars in Greece obliged us to interrupt the relation of the tranſactions in Aſia, and therefore we now return to them.

* A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Liv. l. xxix. n. 12.

Antiochus

* Antiochus, after the death of Achæus, having employed some time in settling his affairs in Asia Minor, marched towards the east to reduce those provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began by Media, of which the Parthians had just before dispossessed him. Arsaces, son to him who founded that empire, was their king. He had taken advantage of the troubles in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Achæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.

This country, says Polybius, is the most powerful in all Asia, as well for its extent, as for the number and strength of the men, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those beasts; and its pastures are so good, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs thither. Ecbatana is its capital city. The edifices of this city are the finest in the world, and the king's palace is 700 fathoms round. Though all the timber-work is of cedar and cypress, yet not the least piece of timber was visible; the joists, the beams, the cielings, and columns, which sustained the porticoes and piazzas, being covered with silver or gold plates. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part of these rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the rest plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. Nevertheless, when Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was still surrounded with gilt columns, and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of silver. All this was converted into specie, and stamped with Antiochus's image; the whole amounting to 4000 talents, or about L.600,000 sterling.

Arsaces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple; but he never imagined that he would venture to cross, with his numerous army, a country so barren as that which lies near it; and especially as no water can be found in those parts, none appearing on the surface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and springs under ground, but no one except those who know the country can find them. On this occasion a true story is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Persians, when they conquered Asia, gave to those who should raise water in places where none had been before, the profits arising from such places to the fifth generation inclusively. The inhabitants, animated by these promises, spared neither labour nor expence to convey water under ground from mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as these deserts; insomuch

* A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Polyb. l. x. p. 597—602.

that at this time, says Polybius, those who make use of these waters, do not know from what springs the subterraneous rivulets flow that supply them with it.

It were to be wished that Polybius, who generally is diffusive enough, had been more prolix here, and explained to us in what manner these subterraneous canals (for such were the wells here spoken of) were built, and the methods employed by Arsaces to stop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vast sums expended to complete this work, we may suppose that water had been conveyed into every part of this vast desert, by stone aqueducts built under ground, with openings at proper distances, which Polybius calls wells.

* When Arsaces saw that Antiochus crossed the deserts in spite of the difficulties which he imagined would stop his march, he gave orders for stopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreseen this, sent a detachment of horse, which posted itself near these wells, and beat the party that came to stop them. The army passed the deserts, entered Media, drove Arsaces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus staid there the rest of the year, in order to re-establish his affairs, and to make the preparations necessary for carrying on the war.

† The year following he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in Media. Arsaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that in securing some passes of the mountains which separate it from Parthia, it would be impossible for the Syrian army to approach him.

‡ However, he was mistaken: for as soon as the season would permit, Antiochus took the field, and, after incredible difficulties, attacked all those posts at the same time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks, and soon forced them all. He afterwards assembled them in the plains, and marched to besiege Seringes, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having besieged it for some time, he at last made a great breach, and took the city by storm, upon which the inhabitants surrendered at discretion.

§ In the mean time Arsaces was very busy. As he retired, he re-assembled troops, which at last formed an army of 120,000 foot, and 20,000 horse. He then took the field against the enemy, and put a stop to their progress with the utmost bravery. His resistance protracted the war, which seemed almost at an

* A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211.
† A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210.
‡ A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209.
§ Justin, l. xli. c. 5.

end.

end. After many engagements, Antiochus, perceiving he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce so valiant an enemy, and drive him entirely out of the provinces, where by length of time he had so strongly established himself. For this reason, he began to listen to the overtures which were made him for terminating so tedious a war.

* At last a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that Arsaces should continue in possession of Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist Antiochus in recovering the rest of the revolted provinces.

† Antiochus, after this peace, turned his arms against Euthydemus, king of Bactria. We have already shown in what manner Theodotus had disunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his son of the same name with himself. This son had been defeated and dispossessed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who engaged in a long war against Antiochus. ‡ The latter used his utmost endeavours to recover Bactria; but they all were rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the course of this war, Antiochus displayed his bravery in the most extraordinary manner. In one of these battles, his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a wound in the mouth, which however was not dangerous, being attended with only the loss of some of his teeth.

At last he grew weary of a war, when he plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him to dethrone this prince. He therefore gave audience to Euthydemus's ambassadors, who represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just; that he had never been his subject, and consequently that he ought not to avenge himself on their king, because others had rebelled against him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed his kingdom by right of conquest over the descendants of those chiefs of the rebellion, and preserved it as the reward of a just victory. They also insinuated to him that the Scythians, observing both parties had weakened themselves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that, should they persist obstinately in disputing it, those Barbarians might very possibly dispossess both of it. § This reflection made an impression on Antiochus, who by this time was grown quite weary of so unprofitable and tedious

* A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208. † A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207.
‡ Polyb. l. x. p. 620, 621. et l. xi. p. 651, 652.
§ A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

a war; and for this reaſon he granted them ſuch conditions as ended in a peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus ſent his ſon to Antiochus. He gave him a gracious reception; and judging, by his agreeable mien, his converſation, and the air of majeſty conſpicuous in his whole perſon, that he was worthy of a throne, he promiſed him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other articles of the treaty were put in writing, and the alliance was confirmed by the uſual oaths.

Having received all Euthydemus's elephants, which was one of the articles of peace, he paſſed mount Caucaſus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He alſo received elephants from him, which, with thoſe Euthydemus had given him, amounted to 150. He marched from thence into Arachoſia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence into Carmania, eſtabliſhing his authority and good order in all theſe provinces.

* He paſſed the winter in the laſt country. From thence he returned by Perſia, Babylonia, and Meſopotamia, and at laſt arrived at Antioch, after having ſpent ſeven years in this expedition. The vigour of his enterpriſes, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wiſe and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Aſia.

† A little after his arrival at Antioch, advice was brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopater. That prince, by his intemperance and exceſſes, had quite ruined his conſtitution, which was naturally ſtrong and vigorous. He died, as generally happens to thoſe who abandon themſelves to pleaſure, before he had run half his courſe. He was ſcarce above 20 years old when he aſcended the throne, and reigned but 17 years. He was ſucceeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his ſon, then five years old.

* A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205. † A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204.

BOOK EIGHTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS,

CONTINUED.

PLAN.

This Chapter includes 24 years, during which Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned in Egypt. In this interval, the Romans engage in war; first against Philip king of Macedon, over whom they gain a famous victory; and then against Antiochus king of Syria, who also is defeated, and forced to sue for peace. At the same time, feuds and divisions break out between the Lacedæmonians and the Achæans, and the famous Philopœmen dies.

SECTION I.

PTOLEMY EPIPHANES SUCCEEDS PHILOPATER IN EGYPT.—TROUBLES WHICH SOON FOLLOW.

I RELATED in the preceding book how Ptolemy Philopater*, worn out with riots and excesses, had come to his end, after having reigned 17 years. As the only persons present when that monarch expired were Agathocles, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as possible from the public, in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They also formed a plan to maintain the authority they had enjoyed under the late king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his son, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined this might be easily done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had succeeded Sosi-

* A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Justin. l. xxx. c. 2. Polyb. l. xv. p. 712—720.

bes

bes in the miniſtry; and accordingly they concerted meaſures to diſpatch him.

At laſt they informed the public of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the * Macedonians was aſſembled, in which Agathocles and Agathoclea were preſent. Agathocles, after ſhedding abundance of tears, begins by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He told them that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them, and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians: that for this reaſon, he was come to implore their aſſiſtance againſt Tlepolemus, who, as he had certain advice, had formed the deſign of uſurping the crown. He added, that he had brought witneſſes expreſsly to prove his treaſon, and at the ſame time offered to produce them. He imagined that by this weak artifice, Tlepolemus would be immediately diſpatched, and that in conſequence he might eaſily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too groſs, and the people immediately ſwore the deſtruction of Agathocles, his ſiſter, and all their creatures. This laſt attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes, all the inhabitants of Alexandria roſe againſt them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and ſeated on the throne in Hippodrome: after which Agathocles, his ſiſter, and Œinanthe his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death as by his order. The populace expoſed their dead bodies to all the indignities poſſible, dragging them through the ſtreets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the ſame treatment, and not one of them was ſpared: the uſual and juſt end of thoſe unworthy favourites, who abuſe the confidence of their ſovereign to oppreſs the people, and who never puniſh thoſe who reſemble themſelves.

Philammon, the aſſaſſin, who had been hired to murder Arſinoe, being returned from Cyrene to Alexandria, two or three days before this tumult broke out, the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it, and taking the opportunity which the diſtractions of the city gave them, they reſolved to revenge their miſtreſs's death. Accordingly they broke open the door of the houſe where he was, and killed him with clubs and ſtones.

* Polybius gives this name to the Alexandrians who deſcended from the Macedonians, and the poſterity of the founders of Alexandria, or of thoſe to whom the ſame privileges had been granted.

The

The care of the king's perſon, till otherwiſe provided for, was given to Soſibes, ſon to him who had governed during the three laſt reigns. Hiſtory does not inform us whether he was ſtill alive; but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he had paſſed above 60 years in the adminiſtration. *No miniſter was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this Soſibes. He made no ſcruple of committing the blackeſt crimes, provided they conduced to his ends. Polybius imputes to him the murder of Lyſimachus, ſon of Ptolemy, and of Arſinoe, daughter of that Lyſimachus; of Magas, ſon of Ptolemy, and of Berenice, daughter of Magas; of Berenice, mother to Ptolemy Philopater; of Cleomenes, king of Sparta; and laſtly, of Arſinoe, daughter of Berenice. It is ſurpriſing that, notwithſtanding a conduct of ſo much inhumanity and cruelty in his adminiſtration, he ſhould ſupport himſelf ſo long, and at laſt come to a peaceable end.

*Antiochus, king of Syria, and Philip, king of Macedonia, during the whole reign of Ptolemy Philopater, had diſcovered the ſtrongeſt zeal for the intereſt of that monarch, and were ready to aſſiſt him on all occaſions. Yet, no ſooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and juſtice enjoined them not to diſturb in the poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom, but they immediately join in a criminal alliance, and excite each other to take off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Libya, Cyrenaica, and Egypt; and Antiochus all the reſt. With this view, the latter entered into Cœlôſyria and Paleſtine, and in leſs than two campaigns made an entire conqueſt of theſe two provinces, with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, ſays Polybius, would not have been quite ſo glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloſs over their crimes with ſome ſpecious pretence; but ſo far from doing this, their injuſtice and cruelty were ſo barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally ſaid of fiſhes, that the large ones, though of the ſame ſpecies, prey on the leſſer. One would be tempted, continues the ſame author, at ſeeing the moſt ſacred laws of ſociety ſo openly violated, to accuſe providence of being indifferent and inſenſible to the moſt horrid crimes. But it fully juſtified its conduct, by puniſhing thoſe two kings according to their deſerts, and made ſuch an example of them, as ought in all ſucceeding ages to de-

* Polyb. in Excerpt p. 64.

† A. M. 3801. Ant. J. C. 203. Polyb. l. iii. p. 159. Id. l. xv. p. 707 et 708.

ter

ter others from following their example; for whilſt they are meditating to diſpoſſeſs a weak and helpleſs infant of his kingdom by piecemeal, Providence raiſed up the Romans againſt them, who entirely ſubverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and reduced their ſucceſſors to almoſt as great calamities as thoſe with which they intended to cruſh the infant king.

* During that time, Philip was engaged in a war againſt the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconſiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the iſland of Lade, oppoſite to the city of Meletus.

†The next year he invaded Attalus, and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. But all his efforts in aſſaulting that city being to no purpoſe, he turned his rage and fury againſt the gods; and not ſatisfied with burning their temples, he demoliſhed ſtatues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the ſtones from their foundations, that not the leaſt footſteps of them might remain.

He was not more ſucceſsful againſt the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent ſucceſs, he ventured a ſecond battle off the iſland of Chio. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with conſiderable loſs. There were killed in his army, 3000 Macedonians, and 6000 allies; and 2000 Macedonians and confederates, with 700 Egyptians, were taken priſoners. The Rhodians loſt but 60 men, and Attalus 70.

Philip aſcribed all the glory of this engagement to himſelf, and that for two reaſons: the firſt was, that having repulſed Attalus to the ſhore, he had taken that prince's ſhip; and the ſecond, that having caſt anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had ſtopped even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he aſſumed the beſt air he could, he was ſenſible of his great loſs, and could neither conceal it from others nor himſelf. This prince had never loſt ſo great a number of men either by ſea or land in one day. He was highly afflicted upon it, and it viſibly damped his natural vivacity.

Nevertheleſs, the ill ſucceſs of this battle did not abate Philip's courage. The character of that prince was to be unſhaken in his reſolutions, and not to be dejected by diſappointments, but to overcome difficulties by inflexible conſtancy and perſeve-

* Polyb in Excerpt. Vales. p. 70 et 73.

† A. M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 202. Polyb. ib. p. 66. Diod. ib. p. 294.

‡ A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201. Polyb. l. xvi. p. 733—339. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 16. 18. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 745. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 31. Strab. l. xii. p. 563. Polyb l. xv. p. 709—711.

rance;

rance; and accordingly he continued the war with freſh bravery. I am not certain whether we may not date, about this time, the cruelties which Philip exerciſed over the Cianians: a barbarity he is often reproached with, the particulars of which have been loſt. Cios, whoſe inhabitants are called Cianians, was a ſmall city of Bithynia. The man who was governor of it, had been raiſed to that poſt by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he beſieged it at the requeſt of Pruſias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received ſome inſult from it. The city was in all probability taken by ſtorm. A great number of the inhabitants ſuffered the moſt cruel torments; the reſt were reduced to a ſtate of captivity, which to them was worſe than death; and the city was razed to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius ſeems to aſcribe its deſtruction to the imprudence of the Cianians themſelves, who uſed to beſtow all poſts and preferments on their moſt worthleſs citizens, and to follow ſo blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to perſecute thoſe who ventured to oppoſe them. He adds, that a people who act in this manner, plunge voluntarily into the greateſt calamities; and that it is ſurpriſing they do not correct themſelves in this reſpect by the experience of all ages, which ſhow, that the ruin of the moſt powerful ſtates is ſolely owing to the ill choice of thoſe to whom they conſide either the command of their armies, or the adminiſtration of their political affairs.

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and Cherſoneſus, where ſeveral cities ſurrendered voluntarily. However, Abydos ſhut her gates againſt him, and even refuſed to hear the deputies he had ſent, ſo that he was forced to beſiege it. This city is in Aſia, and ſtands on the narroweſt part of the Helleſpont, now called the Dardanelles, and oppoſite to the city of Seſtos in Europe. The diſtance between theſe two cities was but about two miles. The reader will ſuppoſe, that Abydos muſt be a city of great importance, as it commanded the ſtraits, and made thoſe who were poſſeſſed of it maſters of the communication between the Euxine ſea and the Archipelago.

Nothing of what is generally practiſed in the aſſaulting and defending of cities was omitted in this ſiege. No place was ever defended with greater obſtinacy, which might be ſaid at length, on the part of the beſieged, to have roſe to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own ſtrength, they repulſed with the greateſt vigour the firſt approaches of the Macedonians.

On

On the ſide next the ſea, the machines of war no ſooner came forward, but they immediately were either diſmounted by the baliſtæ, or conſumed by fire. Even the ſhips on which they were mounted were in danger, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the beſiegers ſaved them. On the land ſide, the Abydonians alſo defended themſelves for ſome time with great courage, and did not deſpair even of defeating the enemy: but, finding that the outward wall was ſapped, and that the Macedonians carried their mines under the inward one, which had been raiſed to ſupply the place of the other, they ſent deputies to Philip, offering to ſurrender their city upon the following conditions: That ſuch forces as had been ſent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, ſhould return to their reſpective ſovereigns under his ſafe conduct; and that all free citizens ſhould retire whitherſoever they pleaſed, with the clothes they then had on. Philip anſwering, that the Abydonians had only to chooſe, whether they would ſurrender at diſcretion, or continue to defend themſelves valiantly, the deputies retired.

This advice being brought, the beſieged, in tranſports of deſpair, aſſemble together, and conſider what was to be done. They came to this reſolution: Firſt, that the ſlaves ſhould be ſet at liberty, to animate them to defend the city with the utmoſt vigour: Secondly, that all the women ſhould be ſhut up in the temple of Diana, and all the children with their nurſes in the Gymnaſium: That this being done, they ſhould bring into the great ſquare all the gold and ſilver in the city, and carry all the reſt of the valuable effects into the Quadrireme* of the Rhodians, and the Trireme of the Cizycenians. This reſolution having paſſed unanimouſly, another aſſembly was called, in which they choſe fifty of the wiſeſt and moſt ancient of the citizens, but who at the ſame time had vigour enough left to execute what ſhould have been determined; and they were made to take an oath in preſence of all the inhabitants, that the inſtant they ſaw the enemy maſter of the inward wall, they ſhould kill the women and children, ſet fire to the two galleys laden with their effects, and throw into the ſea all their gold and ſilver which they had heaped together. Then ſending for their prieſts, they took an oath either to conquer or die, ſword in hand; and after having ſacrificed the victims, they obliged the prieſts and prieſteſſes to pronounce, before the altar, the greateſt curſes on thoſe who ſhould break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermining, and reſolved,

* Quadriremes were galleys with four benches of oars, and Triremes thoſe with three.

the

the inſtant the wall ſhould fall, to fly to the breach, and fight to the laſt. Accordingly, the inward wall tumbling, the beſieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with ſuch unparalleled bravery, that though Philip had perpetually ſuſtained with freſh ſoldiers thoſe who had mounted to the aſſault, yet, when night ſeparated the combatants, he was ſtill doubtful with regard to the ſucceſs of the ſiege. Such Abydonians as marched firſt to the breach, over the heaps of the ſlain, fought with fury, and not only made uſe of their ſwords and javelins, but after their arms were broken to pieces, or forced out of their hands, they ruſhed furiouſly upon the Macedonians, knocked down ſome, broke the ſariſſæ or long ſpears of others, and with the pieces ſtruck their faces, and ſuch parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely deſpair of the event.

When night had put an end to the ſlaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydonians; and thoſe who had eſcaped, were ſo prodigiouſly fatigued, and had received ſo many wounds, that they could ſcarce ſupport themſelves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal citizens, unable to execute the dreadful reſolution that had been taken, and which at that time diſplayed itſelf to their imaginations in all its horror, agreed that, to ſave their wives and children, they ſhould ſend to Philip, by day-break, all their prieſts and prieſteſſes, clothed in pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open their gates to him.

Accordingly, next morning the city, as had been agreed, was ſurrendered to Philip; during which the greateſt part of the Abydonians who ſurvived, vented millions of imprecations againſt their fellow citizens, and eſpecially againſt the prieſts and prieſteſſes, for delivering up to the enemy thoſe whom they themſelves had devoted to death with the moſt dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and ſeized without the leaſt oppoſition all the rich effects which the Abydonians had heaped together in one place. But now he was greatly terrified with the ſpectacle he ſaw. Among theſe ill-fated citizens whom deſpair had made furious and diſtracted, ſome were ſtrangling their wives and children, and others cutting them to pieces with their ſwords; ſome were running to murder them, others were plunging them into wells, whilſt others again were precipitating them from the tops of houſes; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrors. Philip, pierced with grief, and ſeized with horror at this ſpectacle, ſtopped the ſoldiers who were greedy of plunder, and publiſhed a declaration, importing that he would

allow three days to all who were resolved to lay violent hands on themselves. He was in hopes, that during this interval they would change their resolution; but they had made their choice before. They thought it would be degenerating from those who had lost their lives in fighting for their country, should they survive them. The individuals of every family killed one another, and none escaped this murderous expedition but those whose hands were tied, or were otherwise kept from destroying themselves.

* A little before the city surrendered, an ambassador from the Romans to Philip arrived. This embassy was sent on various accounts, all which it will be proper to explain. The fame and glory of this people had just before spread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa; an event that so gloriously, with regard to the Romans, terminated the second Punic war. † The court of Egypt being in so much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, had addressed the Romans for protection, and offered them the guardianship of the king, and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; declaring that the late monarch had desired it at his death. It was the interest of the Romans not to suffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increase, by the addition of so many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time consisted. It was not difficult to foresee that they would soon be engaged in war with those two princes, with one of whom they already had some differences which threatened much greater. For these reasons they had not hesitated in accepting the guardianship; and in consequence had appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their resolution, and to enjoin them not to infest the dominions of their royal pupil, for that otherwise they should be forced to declare war against them. Every reader will perceive that the declaring so generously in favour of an oppressed infant monarch, was making a just and noble use of their power.

At the same time there arrived in Rome ambassadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain also of the enterprises of the two kings, and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in person or by his deputies, was soliciting several cities of Asia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating some

* A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201.

† Justin. l. xxx. c. 2, 3, et l. xxxi. c. 1. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1, 2, et 18.

great

great design. This was a fresh motive for hastening the departure of the three ambassadors.

Being arrived at Rhodes, and hearing of the siege of Abydos, they sent to Philip the youngest of their colleagues, named Æmilius, who, as has been observed, arrived at Abydos at the time that the city was upon the point of being surrendered. Æmilius acquainted Philip, that he was ordered, in the name of the senate, to exhort him not to make war upon any of the states of Greece, nor to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions, but to refer to a just arbitration his pretensions upon Attalus and the Rhodians: that, provided he acquiesced with these remonstrances, he would continue in peace; but that if he refused, the Romans would proclaim war against him. Philip endeavoured to show, that the Rhodians had occasioned the rupture. "But," says Æmilius, interrupting him, "did the "Athenians and Abydonians attack you first?" Philip *, who had not been used to hear truth, offended at the boldness of such an answer addressed to a king: "Your age," says he to the ambassador, "your beauty" (for Polybius informs us that this ambassador had really a fine person), and especially the Roman "name, exalt your pride to a prodigious degree. For my "part, I wish your republic may observe punctually the trea-"ties it has concluded with me: but in case I should be invaded "by it, I hope to show that the empire of Macedonia does "not yield to Rome either in valour or reputation." The deputy withdrew from Abydos with this answer, and Philip having taken that city, left a strong garrison in it, and returned to Macedonia.

Æmilius seems to have gone into Egypt, whilst the two other ambassadors went very probably to Antiochus. Æmilius being arrived at Alexandria, assumed the guardianship of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the senate at his setting out, and settled every thing to as much advantage as the state of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Aristomenes the Acarnanian to superintend the education and person of the new monarch, and made him prime minister. This Aristomenes had grown

* Insueto vera audire, ferocior oratio visa est, quam quæ habenda apud regem esset. Ætas, inquit, et forma, et super omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. Ego autem primum velim vos fœderum memores servare mecum pacem. Si bello lacessieritis, mihi quoque in animo est facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomenque haud ininus quam Romanum nobile bello sentiatis. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 18.

old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmoſt prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

* In the mean time the forces of Philip laid Attica waſte, the pretence of which invaſion was as follows. Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at the time when the grand myſteries were ſolemnizing there, had crowded into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbid. Though their fault proceeded entirely from ignorance, they were immediately maſſacred as guilty of impiety and ſacrilege. The Acarnanians, juſtly exaſperated at ſo cruel a treatment, had recourſe to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces, with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with ſpoils.

† The Athenians carried their complaints againſt this enterpriſe to Rome, and were joined on that occaſion by the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only ſought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the condition of the treaty of peace concluded with him three years before, in not ceaſing to infeſt the allies who were included in it. He had juſt before ſent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was ſpread, that he was at that time very buſy in Aſia. This made the Romans uneaſy, who called to mind the trouble which Pyrrhus had brought upon them, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Thus, having ended the war againſt Carthage, they imagined it adviſeable to prevent the enterpriſes of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in caſe they ſhould give him time to increaſe his ſtrength. The ſenate, after making ſuch an anſwer as pleaſed all the ambaſſadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus, the proprætor, to advance towards Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.

‡ In the mean time the Roman ſenate deliberated ſeriouſly on what was to be done in the preſent juncture. At the very time it aſſembled to conſider that important affair, a ſecond embaſſy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was upon the point of invading Attica in perſon; and that in caſe they were not immediately ſuccoured, he would infallibly make himſelf maſter of Athens. They alſo received letters from Levinus the proprætor, and from Aurelius his lieu-

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14. † Ibid. n. 1—3. ‡ Ibid. n. 5.

tenant,

tenant, by which they were informed that they had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe that Philip had ſome deſign againſt them; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to loſe.

* Upon this news, the Romans reſolved to proclaim war againſt Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the conſul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to ſea with an army, and ſoon arrived there. Here he was ſoon informed by an embaſſy that Athens was beſieged, and implored his aſſiſtance. He detached a ſquadron of 20 galleys, commanded by Claudius Cento, who ſet ſail that inſtant. Philip had not laid ſiege to Athens in perſon, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpoſe; having taken the field in perſon againſt Attalus and the Rhodians.

SECTION II.

EXPEDITIONS OF SULPITIUS.—PHILIP LOSES A BATTLE.—THE ACHÆANS DECLARE FOR THE ROMANS.

Claudius Cento †, whom the conſul had ſent to ſuccour Athens, having entered the Piræus with his galleys, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants. He was not ſatisfied with ſecuring the city and the country round it, but having advice that the garriſon of Chalcis did not obſerve the leaſt order or diſcipline, as remote from danger, he ſailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day, and finding the ſentinels aſleep, entered it without moleſtation; ſet fire to the public magazines, which were full of corn, and to the arſenal that was well provided with machines of war; cut the whole garriſon to pieces; and after carrying on board his ſhips the immenſe booty he had amaſſed, he returned to the Piræus.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the inſtant he heard of the diſaſter which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither, in hopes of ſurpriſing the Romans. However, they were gone; ſo that he ſeemed to have come for no other purpoſe, but to be ſpectator of that city ſtill burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the ſame manner, if one of the couriers, called Hemerodromi ‡, who perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was poſted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all aſleep. Philip arrived a few hours after,

* A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.
† A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 22—26.
‡ They were ſo called from running a great number of miles in one day.

but before day-break. Perceiving that this ſtratagem had not taken effect, he reſolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their ſoldiers in battle without the walls, at the gate Dipylos. Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour, and having killed ſeveral of them with his own hand, repulſed them back into the city, whither he did not think it adviſeable to purſue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country ſeats, on the places for the public exerciſes, as the Lyceum, and eſpecially on ſuch temples as ſtood without the city; ſetting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not ſparing either the tombs or the moſt ſacred places. He marched from hence with a view of ſurpriſing Eleuſis, where his project alſo proved abortive. He then proceeded towards Corinth, when hearing that the Achæans held their aſſembly at Argos, he went thither.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had ſucceeded Machanidas, and infeſted the whole country with his incurſions. Philip offered to charge himſelf entirely with that war, and his propoſal was received with univerſal joy. However, he added a condition which abated it very much; that they ſhould furniſh him with as many troops as were neceſſary for garriſoning Oræa, Chalcis, and Corinth; and that they ſhould not leave the places behind him without defence, whilſt he was fighting for them. They perceived that his deſign was to draw out of Peloponneſus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himſelf maſter of it, and engage them in the war againſt the Romans. Cycliades, who preſided in the aſſembly, eluded the propoſal, by obſerving, that it was not allowed by their laws to debate on any ſubject but that for which the aſſembly had been ſummoned. They therefore broke up, after having reſolved upon the war againſt Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a ſecond attempt upon Athens, which ſucceeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of ſuch temples, ſtatues, and valuable works, as remained in that country. After this expedition he retired into Bœotia.

* The conſul, who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, ſent to Macedonia a conſiderable detachment, under the command of Apuſtius the lieutenant, who laid waſte the plains, and took ſeveral ſmall cities. Philip, who was returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with prodigious vigour.

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 27—34.

The

The great object which both parties had in view, was to engage the Ætolians to their side. They were now going to hold their general assembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, sent their ambassadors. He who was deputed by Philip spoke first. All he required was, that the Ætolians should observe strictly the treaties of peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how useless their alliance with the Romans was to them. He instanced several cities, of which that people had possessed themselves, upon pretence of succouring them, as Syracuse, Tarentum, and Capua; the last city especially, which was no longer Capua, but the grave of the Campanians, and the skeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither senate, inhabitants, nor magistrates; more barbarously used by those who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, than if they had entirely destroyed it. "If foreigners," says he, "who differ from us more by their language, their manners, and their laws, than by the wide distance of land and sea which separates us from them, should dispossess us of this country, it would be ridiculous in us to expect more humane treatment from them than their neighbours have met with. Among us, who are of the same country, whether Ætolians, Acarnanians, or Macedonians, and who speak the same language, slight disputes may arise with little or no consequence or duration: but with foreigners, with barbarians, we, whilst we are Greeks, are and shall for ever be at war. This time three years you concluded a peace with Philip in this very place; now the same causes still subsist; and we hope that you will act in the same manner."

The Athenian ambassadors, by the consent of the Romans, spoke next. They began by displaying, in an affecting manner, the impious and sacrilegious fury which Philip had exercised on the most sacred monuments of Attica, on the most august temples, and the most awful tombs; as if he had declared war, not only against men, and the living, but against the manes of the dead, and the majesty of the gods: that Ætolia and all Greece must expect the same treatment, if Philip should have the like occasion. They concluded with conjuring the Ætolians to take compassion on Athens, and to undertake, under the auspices of the gods, and of the Romans, whose power only that of the gods could equal, so just a war as that proposed to them.

The Roman ambassador, after having refuted very circumstantially the reproaches of the Macedonians, with respect to the treatment

treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities ſuffer, and exemplified in Carthage, which but juſt before had been allowed a peace, and was reſtored to its liberty; declared, that the only circumſtance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildneſs and lenity which they exerciſed towards thoſe they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms againſt them, becauſe the vanquiſhed might depend on the Roman clemency. He repreſented in a ſhort, but ſtrong and pathetic ſpeech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murders committed by him on his own family, and his friends, his infamous debaucheries, which were ſtill more deteſted than his cruelty; all facts more immediately known to the perſons whom he then addreſſed, as they were then nearer neighbours to Macedonia. "But, to confine my ſpeech to what relates directly to you," ſays the ambaſſador, addreſſing himſelf to the Ætolians, "we engaged in the war againſt Philip, in no other view but to defend you; and you have concluded a ſeparate peace with him. "Poſſibly you may obſerve in your own juſtification, that ſeeing "us employed in the war againſt the Carthaginians, and being "awed by fear, you were obliged to ſubmit to whatever conditions the victor was pleaſed to preſcribe; whilſt we, on the "other ſide, employed in affairs of greater importance, neglected a "war which you had renounced. However, having now put an "end, thanks to the gods, to the Carthaginian war, we are going to turn the whole force of our arms againſt Macedonia. "This gives you an opportunity of returning to our friendſhip "and alliance, unleſs you ſhould chuſe to periſh ingloriouſly with "Philip, rather than conquer with the Romans."

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this ſpeech would gain all the voices. It is ſaid, that he had been bribed by Philip. Without ſeeming inclined to either ſide, he repreſented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the aſſembly would otherwiſe have had, and boaſted his having done a very eſſential ſervice to the republic, which now, he ſaid, might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the ſtrongeſt party.

* In the mean time, Philip was preparing for a vigorous war both by ſea and land; but the conſul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Daſſaretæ, and Philip had alſo taken the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched; but each ſent out a detachment

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 33—39.

upon

upon the diſcovery, and the two parties met. As both conſiſted entirely of choſen troops, a bloody ſkirmiſh enſued, and the victory was doubtful: 40 Macedonian troopers, and 35 of the Romans, were killed on the ſpot.

The king, perſuaded that the care he ſhould take to bury thoſe who had loſt their lives in this ſkirmiſh, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his ſoldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his ſervice, cauſed their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eye-witneſſes of the honours paid to their memory. * Nothing is leſs to be relied upon than the ſentiments and diſpoſitions of the vulgar. This ſpectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the ſoldiers, had a quite contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in war with none but Greeks and Illyrians, who employed ſcarce any other weapons but arrows, javelins, and lances; and for that reaſon the wounds they made were not ſo deep. But when they ſaw the bodies of their comrades, covered with deep and wide gaſhes made by the Spaniſh ſabres, whole arms cut off, ſhoulders lopped away, and heads ſeparated from the bodies, they were terrified at the ſight, and plainly perceived againſt what kind of enemies they were to act.

The king himſelf, who had never ſeen the Romans engage in battle, was terrified at this ſight. Being informed by ſome deſerters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides, and marched thither with his army, conſiſting of 20,000 foot, and 4000 horſe; and poſted himſelf at a little above 200 paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence which he fortified with good ditches and ſtrong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and diſpoſition of the Roman camp, he cried out, † that what he ſaw was not the camp of Barbarians.

The conſul and the king were quiet for the firſt two days, each waiting till the other ſhould make ſome movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in battle array. Philip, being afraid of coming to a general battle, detached againſt the enemy a body conſiſting of but 1500 men, the one half horſe, and the other foot; againſt whom the Romans oppoſed an equal number, who had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They avoided with no

* Nihil tam incertum nec tam inæſtimabile eſt, quam animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad ſubeundum omnem dimicationem videbatur facturum, id metum pigritiamque incuſſit. Liv.

† The ſame words are aſcribed to Pyrrhus.

leſs

leſs prudence an ambuſcade which the king had laid for them. Theſe two advantages, the one gained by open force, and the other by ſtratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman ſoldiers. The conſul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repoſe, he led them out and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept, and for that reaſon he lay cloſe in his camp, in ſpite of all the inſults and reproaches of Sulpitius, who charged him with meanneſs of ſpirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay ſo near one another, would be very dangerous, the conſul drew off to about eight miles diſtance, and advanced towards a village, called Octolophos, where the foragers diſperſed themſelves all over the neighbouring country in ſeparate platoons. The king at firſt lay cloſe in his intrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out; in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reaſon be leſs vigilant. This happened directly as Philip had foreſeen. When he ſaw great numbers of them ſpread over the plains, he quitted his camp on a ſudden with all his horſe, whom the Cretans followed as faſt as it was poſſible for infantry to march, and rode full ſpeed to poſt himſelf between the Roman camp and the foragers. There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them againſt the foragers; ordering them to cut to pieces all who ſhould come in their way; whilſt he himſelf ſeized all the paſſes by which they could return. And now nothing was ſeen on all ſides but blood and ſlaughter; during which, the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, becauſe ſuch as fled were intercepted by the king's forces; and thoſe who guarded the paſſes, killed a much greater number than the others detached in purſuit of the enemy.

At laſt the melancholy news of the ſlaughter arrived in the Roman camp. Upon which the conſul ordered the cavalry to march out, and ſuccour their comrades wherever they could: as for himſelf he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them in a hollow ſquare againſt the enemy. The troopers, being diſperſed up and down, loſt their way at firſt; being deceived by the ſhouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of theſe parties fell in with the enemy, and ſkirmiſhes were fought in different places at the ſame time. The warmeſt engagement was where the king himſelf commanded, and which, by the great number of the horſe and foot that compoſed it, formed almoſt an army: not to mention that theſe troops being prodigiouſly animated by the preſence of the king and the Cretans, who fought cloſe together, and with the utmoſt vigour, againſt ene-

mies

mies diſperſed and in diſorder, killed great numbers of them. It is certain that, had they not purſued the Romans ſo vigorouſly, this day might have decided, not only the preſent battle, but perhaps the ſucceſs of the whole war. But by abandoning themſelves to a raſh and inconſiderate ardour, they fell into the midſt of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. And now the ſoldiers who fled, perceiving the Roman enſigns, faced about, and puſhed their horſes againſt the enemy, who were all in diſorder. In an inſtant the face of the battle was quite changed; thoſe who purſued before now flying in their turn. Many were killed in cloſe fight, and many loſt their lives in flying; numbers fell, not only by the ſword, but ſeveral plunging into moraſſes, were ſwallowed up, with their horſes, in the mire. The king himſelf was in very great danger; for having been thrown by his horſe, which had received a great wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horſe, and mounted him on it: but the man himſelf, being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having taken a long compaſs round the fens, came at laſt to the camp, where he had been given over for loſt.

We have ſeen on many occaſions, and it cannot be too ſtrongly inculcated to thoſe of the military profeſſion, in order to their avoiding the like error, that battles are often loſt by the too great ardour of the officers, who, ſolely intent upon purſuing the enemy, forget and neglect what paſſes in the reſt of the army, and ſuffer themſelves to be deprived, through an imprudent deſire of glory, of a victory which they had in their hands, and might have ſecured.

However, Philip had not loſt a great number of men in this action, but dreaded coming to a ſecond; and was afraid leſt the conqueror ſhould advance to attack him ſuddenly. He therefore diſpatched a herald to the conſul, to deſire a ſuſpenſion of arms in order to bury the dead. The conſul, who was at dinner, ſent word that he ſhould have an anſwer on the morrow. Upon this, Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great numbers of fires in his camp, ſet out from it, without noiſe, the inſtant it was dark; and having got a whole night's march before the conſul, and part of the following day, he thereby put it out of his power to purſue him.

* Sulpitius began his march the next day, not knowing which

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 39—43.

way

way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himſelf with the hopes of intercepting him at ſome paſſes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of ſtones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was ſuperior to all theſe difficulties. The conſul, after laying waſte the country, and ſeizing upon ſeveral fortreſſes, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had ſet out in the beginning of the campaign.

The Ætolians, who only waited the event, in order to take up arms, declared without the leaſt heſitation for the Romans, and the Athamanians followed their example. Both people made ſome incurſions into Macedonia, but with ill ſucceſs, Philip having defeated them on ſeveral occaſions. He alſo defeated the Dardanians, who had entered his country during his abſence; and with theſe ſmall advantages, conſoled himſelf for his ill ſucceſs againſt the Romans.

* In this campaign the Roman fleet, joined to that of Attalus, came into the Piræus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them to diſſemble for a long time, now broke out immoderately, at the ſight of ſo powerful a ſuccour. In a free city † like that of Athens, where eloquence was all-powerful, the orators had gained ſo great an aſcendant over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever reſolutions they pleaſed. Here the the people, at their requeſt, ordained that all the ſtatues and images of Philip and his anceſtors ſhould be deſtroyed: that the feſtivals, ſacrifices, and prieſts eſtabliſhed in their honour, ſhould be aboliſhed: that every place where any monument had been ſet up, or inſcription engraved relating to them, ſhould be declared impure and profane: that the prieſts, every time they offered up prayers to the gods, in favour of the Athenians, of their allies, their armies, and fleets, ſhould alſo utter anathemas and curſes of every kind againſt Philip, his children, his kingdom, his forces both by ſea and land; in a word, againſt the Macedonians in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, That whatever might be afterwards propoſed, which tended in any manner to diſhonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people; and that whoſoever ſhould dare to ſay or do any thing in favour of Philip, or againſt the decrees in queſtion, might be killed upon the ſpot without any form-

* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 44—47.

† Nec unquam ibi deſunt linguæ promptæ ad plebem concitandum: quod genus, cum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcipue Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. Liv.

ality.

ality. This laſt clauſe was, that whatever had been enacted againſt the Piſiſtratides, ſhould take place againſt Philip. In this manner the * Athenians made war againſt Philip by their decrees and ordinances, which at that time were their only ſtrength. Carrying all things to extremes, they now laviſhed encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind, on Attalus and the Romans.

The fleet, at its leaving the Piræus, attacked and took ſeveral fortreſſes and ſmall iſlands; after which Attalus and the Romans ſeparated, and went into winter-quarters.

† In Rome, the year following, new conſuls being choſen, Villius had Macedonia for his province.

Philip, whilſt he made the ſeveral preparations for carrying on the enſuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with regard to the ſucceſs of the war he had undertaken. Beſides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he was afraid that the protection which the Romans gave to ſtates, would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneaſy at, and diſſatisfied with his government, would rebel againſt him.

To obviate theſe dangers, he gave up ſome cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more ſtrongly to his intereſt by this unexpected generoſity, and at the ſame time he ſent ambaſſadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath which was to be renewed every year. But could he look upon this ceremony as a ſtrong tye; ſuch a one as would be capable of keeping the confederates in their duty, as he himſelf profeſſed an open violation of all oaths, and did not make the leaſt ſcruple to forfeit his promiſe, nor ſhow the leaſt veneration for the Supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind conſider as moſt ſacred?

‡ As to the Macedonians, he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by ſacrificing Heraclides, one of his miniſters and confidents, whom the people hated and deteſted on account of his rapine and grievous oppreſſions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exerciſed the meaneſt and moſt contemptible offices, and been baniſhed from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who finding him a man of ſenſe, of a lively genius, a

* Athenienſes, quidem literis verbiſque, quibus ſolis valent, bellum adverſus Philippum gerebant. Liv.

† A. M. 4805. Ant. J. C. 196. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 49. et l. xxxi. n. 3.

‡ Polyb. l. 13. p. 672, 673.

daring ſpirit, and at the ſame time ſo inſatiably ambitious as not to ſcruple the commiſſion of the blackeſt crimes, had attached him to himſelf in a particular manner, and truſted him with all his ſecrets; a fit inſtrument for a prince, who had neither probity nor honour. Heraclides, ſays Polybius, was born with all thoſe qualities which conſtitute the finiſhed villain. From his moſt tender years, he had proſtituted himſelf in the moſt infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved in the meaneſt and moſt groveling manner towards his ſuperiors. He was in ſuch great credit and authority with Philip, that, according to the ſame author, he almoſt ruined that powerful kingdom, by the univerſal diſcontent which his injuſtice and oppreſſion occaſioned. At laſt the king cauſed him to be ſeized and thrown into priſon, which occaſioned an univerſal joy amongſt the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius on this ſubject, hiſtory does not inform us what became of Heraclides, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deſerved.

Nothing conſiderable was tranſacted during this campaign, any more than the foregoing, becauſe the conſuls did not enter Macedonia till very late; and the reſt of the time was ſpent in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, either to force certain paſſes, or carry off convoys. * T. Quintius † Flamininus having been nominated conſul, and Macedonia falling to him by lot, he did not follow the example of his predeceſſors, but ſet out from Rome at the opening of the ſpring, with Lucius his brother, who, by leave of the ſenate, was to command his fleet.

At the beginning of the year in queſtion, Antiochus invaded Attalus very vigorouſly both by ſea and land. The ambaſſadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the ſenate of the great danger to which their ſovereign was expoſed. They entreated the Romans, in Attalus's name, either to undertake his defence with the forces of the republic, or to permit king Attalus to recall his troops. The ſenate made anſwer, That as nothing could be more juſt and reaſonable than Attalus's demand, he therefore was at full liberty to recall his forces: that the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their credit with Antiochus, to diſſuade him from moleſting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans ſent ambaſſadors to the former, who remonſtrated to him,

* A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 9—15.

† Plutarch calls him Flaminius, but it is an error, theſe being two different families.

that

that Attalus had lent them his land as well as naval forces, which they had employed againſt Philip their common enemy; that they ſhould think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was fitting that ſuch kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans ſhould be at peace. Theſe remonſtrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The inſtant he had, at the requeſt of the Romans, laid aſide his deſigns againſt that prince, he marched in perſon into Cœloſyria, to recover thoſe cities of which Ariſtomenes had diſpoſſeſſed him. The Romans had intruſted this general with the adminiſtration of Egypt. * The firſt thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himſelf againſt the invaſion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpoſe he raiſed the beſt troops he could. † He ſent Scopas into Ætolia with large ſums of money, to levy as many troops as poſſible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the beſt ſoldiers. ‡ This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the higheſt poſts in his own country, and was thought to be one of the braveſt and moſt experienced generals of his time. When the time for continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of being continued in it, but was diſappointed. This gave him diſguſt, ſo that he left Ætolia, and engaged in the ſervice of the king of Egypt. Scopas had ſuch good ſucceſs in his levies, that he brought 6000 ſoldiers from Ætolia; a good reinforcement for the Egyptian army.

§ The miniſters of Alexandria, ſeeing Antiochus employed in Aſia Minor, in the war which had broke out between him and Attalus king of Pergamus, ſent Scopas into Paleſtine and Cœloſyria, to recover, if poſſible, thoſe provinces. He carried on that war ſo ſucceſsfully, that he recovered ſeveral cities, retook Judæa, threw a garriſon into the citadel of Jeruſalem, and, upon the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria, whither he brought, beſides the glory of his victories, exceeding rich ſpoils taken in the conquered countries. We find by the ſequel, that the great ſucceſs of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus's being abſent, and to the little reſiſtance which had therefore been made.

‖ He no ſooner arrived there in perſon, but the face of things

* A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. † Liv. l. xxxi. n. 43.
‡ Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60.
§ A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. Hierom. in c. xi. Dan. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.
‖ A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 8. Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 77. &c. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

changed immediately, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who was returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the source of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great slaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he shut himself up with the 10,000 men he had left. Antiochus besieged him in it, and reduced him to such extremities, that being in absolute want of provisions, he was forced to surrender the city, and content himself with having his life spared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmost efforts to relieve him in Sidon, and three of the best generals, at the head of the choicest troops of the state, had been sent to raise the siege. But Antiochus disposed things so happily, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept of the ignominious conditions above-mentioned; after which he returned to Alexandria, naked and disarmed.

* Antiochus went from thence to Gaza, where he met with so strong a resistance as exasperated him; and accordingly, having taken it, he abandoned the plunder of it to his soldiers. This being done, he secured the passes through which the troops were to come that might be sent from Egypt; and, returning back, subjected all Palestine and Cœlosyria.

† The instant that the Jews, who at that time had reason to be displeased with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus advanced towards their country, they crowded very zealously to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities. Being come to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him, paid him all kinds of honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle the soldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges, and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple; a prohibition which seemed visibly to have been made on account of Philopater's attempt, who would have forced his way thither.

‡ Antiochus, in his eastern expedition, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent 2000 Jewish families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and was exceedingly liberal to them. It was from these Jews, transplanted at this time, that descended many of those § who were "dispersed or scatter-

"ed

* Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 87. et Exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 19.

† Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. ‡ Joseph. Ibid.

§ They are thus called by St. James and St. Peter: To the twelve tribes which

"ed abroad," whom we shall afterwards find so numerous, especially in the gospel-times.

Antiochus, having thus subjected all Cœlosyria and Palestine, resolved, if possible, to make the like conquests in Asia Minor. The great object he had in view was, to raise the empire of Syria to its pristine glory, by reuniting to it all that his predecessors had ever possessed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator, its founder. *As it would be necessary, for succeeding in his design, to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, at a time that he should be at a distance from his kingdom, he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to king Ptolemy; but on this condition, that they should not celebrate their nuptials till they should be a little older; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up those provinces to Egypt as his daughter's dowry. This proposal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians, relying on his promises, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation.

†I now resume the affairs of Macedonia. I observed that Quintius Flamininus (by either of which names I shall call him hereafter) had set out from Rome as soon as he had been appointed consul, and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Being arrived in Epirus, he found Villius encamped in presence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the passes and defiles along the banks of the Apsus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epirus and Illyria. Having taken upon himself the command of the forces, the first thing he did was to consider and examine the situation of the country. As this pass seemed impracticable to an army, because there was but one narrow steep path in it, cut in the rock, and that the enemy were possessed of the avenues; he therefore was advised to take a large compass, as this would bring him to a wide smooth road. But besides that he must have employed too much time in this winding march, he was afraid to remove too far from the sea, from whence he had all his provisions. For this reason, he resolved to go over the mountains, and to force the passes, whatever might be the consequence.

Philip having in vain made proposals of peace, in an interview between him and the consul, was obliged to have recourse

which are scattered abroad. James i. 1. To the strangers scattered about Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. 1 Peter i. 1.

* Hierom. in c. xi. Daniel. † A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198.

again to arms. Accordingly ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes were fought in a pretty large plain; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to attack the enemy, and afterwards retreating by ſteep craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, purſuing them to thoſe places, were greatly annoyed. The Macedonians having planted on all theſe rocks catapultæ and baliſtæ, overwhelmed them with ſtones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both ſides, and night ſeparated the combatants.

Matters being in this ſtate, ſome ſhepherds, who fed their ſheep on theſe mountains, came and told Flamininus, that they knew a bye way which was not guarded, and promiſed to guide him to the top of the mountains in three days at fartheſt. They brought with them as their guarantee Charops, ſon of Machatas, the perſon of the greateſt diſtinction among the Epirots, who ſecretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus, having ſuch a voucher, ſent a general with 4000 foot and 300 horſe. Theſe ſhepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a ſurpriſe, led the detachment. During theſe three days, the conſul contented himſelf with only a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes to amuſe the enemy; but on the fourth, at day-break, he cauſed his whole army to ſtand to their arms (perceiving on the mountains a great ſmoke, which was the ſignal agreed upon between them), and marches directly againſt the enemy, perpetually expoſed to the darts of the Macedonians, and ſtill fighting hand to hand againſt thoſe who guarded the paſſes. The Romans redouble their efforts, and repulſe the enemy with great vigour into the moſt craggy ways; making great ſhouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter anſwered from the ſummit of it, with a moſt dreadful noiſe, and at the ſame time fell upon the Macedonians, who ſeeing themſelves attacked both in front and rear, are ſtruck with a panic, and fly with the utmoſt ſpeed. However, not above 2000 of them were killed, the paths being ſo craggy and ſteep that it was impoſſible to purſue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and ſeized their tents and ſlaves.

Philip had marched at firſt towards Theſſaly; but being afraid that the enemy would follow and attack him again there, he turned off towards Macedonia, and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to ſuccour ſuch cities as ſhould be beſieged.

The conſul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waſte the country, although he knew that all perſons of the greateſt diſtinction in it, Charops excepted, had oppoſed the Romans. However,

However, as they ſubmitted with great cheerfulneſs, he had a greater regard to their preſent diſpoſition than to their paſt fault; a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots. From thence he marched into Theſſaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken ſeveral cities in that country; and he took the moſt conſiderable of them. Atrax, a city he beſieged, detained him a long time, and made ſo ſtout a defence, that he at laſt was forced to leave it.

* In the mean time the Roman fleet, reinforced by thoſe of Attalus and the Rhodians, was alſo active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria and Cariſte, garriſoned by Macedonians; after which, the three fleets advanced towards Cenchreæ, a port of Corinth.

The conſul marching into Phocis, moſt of the cities ſurrendered voluntarily. Elatea was the only city that ſhut her gates againſt him; ſo that he was obliged to beſiege it in form. Whilſt he was carrying on this ſiege, he meditated an important deſign; and this was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip, and join the Romans. The three united fleets were upon the point of laying ſiege to Corinth: however, before he began it, he thought proper to offer the Achæans to make Corinth enter again into their league, and to deliver it up to them, provided they would declare for the Romans. Ambaſſadors, ſent in the conſul's name by Lucius his brother, in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, carried this meſſage. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyone.

The Achæans were very much at a loſs in regard to the reſolution it was neceſſary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them in awe; and, on the other ſide, they were in ſtill greater dread of the Romans. They had received from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was univerſally ſuſpected, upon account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enſlaved by him, when the war ſhould be terminated. Such was the diſpoſition of the Achæans. The Roman ambaſſador ſpoke firſt, and afterwards thoſe of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip: the Athenians were appointed to ſpeak laſt, in order that they might refute what Philip's ambaſſador ſhould advance. They ſpoke with the greateſt virulency againſt the king, becauſe no people had been ſo cruelly treated by him; and they gave a long detail of his injuſtice and cruelty in regard

* Liv. l. xxxii. n. 16—25.

to

to them. Theſe ſpeeches took up the whole day, ſo that the aſſembly was put off till the morrow.

All the members being met, the herald, as was the cuſtom, gave notice, in the name of the magiſtrates, that all thoſe who intended to ſpeak, might begin. But no one roſe up; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep ſilence. Upon this, Ariſtenes, chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, in order that the aſſembly might not break up without doing buſineſs, ſpoke as follows: "What then is become of that warmth and vigour, "with which you uſed to diſpute, at your tables, and in your "converſations, about Philip and the Romans; which generally "roſe to ſo great a height, that you were ready to cut one "another's throats? And now, in an aſſembly ſummoned for "no other purpoſe, after hearing the ſpeeches and arguments "on both ſides, you are mute? Surely, if the love of your "country cannot looſe your tongues, ought not the reſolution "which each of you has formed in private, either for or againſt "Philip and the Romans, to oblige you to ſpeak: eſpecially as "there is none of you but knows, that it will be too late, after "the reſolution ſhall be once taken?"

Theſe reproaches, though ſo judicious and reaſonable, and made by the principal magiſtrate, could not prevail with any one of the members to give his opinion; nor even occaſioned the leaſt murmur, the leaſt noiſe in this aſſembly, though very numerous, and compoſed of the repreſentatives of ſo many ſtates. Every body continued dumb and motionleſs.

Ariſtenes then ſpoke again to this effect: "Chiefs of the "Achæans, I perceive plainly that you want courage more "than counſel; ſince not one among you dares to ſpeak his "ſentiments, with regard to the common intereſt. Was I a "private man, I poſſibly might act as you do; but being the "chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, either that "the ambaſſadors ſhould not have been allowed to aſſemble us, "or that they ſhould not be diſmiſſed without ſome anſwer. "Now, how will it be poſſible for me to make any, unleſs you "authoriſe me by a decree? But, ſince not one among you "will, or dares ſpeak his thoughts, let us ſuppoſe for a moment, "that the ſpeeches of the ambaſſadors which we heard yeſter-"day, are ſo many counſels they give, not for their own intereſt, "but purely for ours; and let us weigh them maturely. The "Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus, deſire our friendſhip and "alliance; and they requeſt us to aſſiſt them in their war againſt "Philip. On the other ſide, the latter puts us in mind of the "treaty which we concluded with him, and ſealed and ratified

"by

" by an oath: one moment he requires us to join with him, " and he next he inſiſts upon our obſerving a ſtrict neutrality. " Is no one among you ſurpriſed to hear thoſe, who are not " yet our allies, demand more than he who has long been a con- " federate? Doubtleſs, it is neither modeſty in Philip, nor " temerity in the Romans, which prompts them to act and " ſpeak as they do. This difference in their ſentiments ariſes " from the diſparity of their ſtrength and ſituation. My mean- " ing is, we ſee nothing here belonging to Philip but his am- " baſſador; whereas the Roman fleet now lies at anchor near " Cenchreæ, laden with the ſpoils of Eubœa; and the conſul " and his legions, who are but at a little diſtance from the fleet, " lay waſte Phocis and Locris with impunity. You are ſur- " priſed that Cleomedon, Philip's ambaſſador, ſhould have ad- " viſed you, in ſo fearful and reſerved a manner, to take up " arms in favour of the king againſt the Romans. If, in con- " ſequence of the treaty in queſtion, and of the oath on which " he lays ſuch ſtreſs, we ſhould require Philip to defend us " againſt Nabis, the Lacedæmonians, and the Romans; he " would not have any anſwer to make, much leſs would he be " able to give us any real ſuccour. This we experienced laſt " year, when, notwithſtanding the expreſs words of our alli- " ance, and the mighty promiſes he made us, he ſuffered Nabis " and the Lacedæmonians to ravage our lands without oppoſi- " tion. In my opinion, Cleomedon ſeemed evidently to con- " tradict himſelf in every part of his ſpeech. He ſpoke with " contempt of the war againſt the Romans, pretending it would " have the ſame ſucceſs, as that which they had already made " with Philip. Why then does he implore our ſuccour at a " diſtance, and by an ambaſſador; inſtead of coming and de- " fending us in perſon (we who are his ancient allies) againſt " Nabis and the Romans? Why did he ſuffer Eretria and Ca- " riſte to be taken? Why has he abandoned ſo many cities of " Theſſaly, and every part of Phocis and Locris? Why does " he ſuffer Elatea to be beſieged at this inſtant? Was it a ſu- " perior ſtrength, was it fear, or his own will, that made him " abandon the defiles of Epirus, and give up to the enemy thoſe " inſuperable barriers, to go and conceal himſelf in the moſt re- " mote part of his kingdom? If he has voluntarily abandoned ſo " many allies to the mercy of the enemy, ought he to keep them " from providing for their own ſafety? But if he was actuated " by fear, he ought to forgive the ſame weakneſs in us. If he " has been forced to it, do you, O Cleomedon, believe, that it " is poſſible for us Achæans, to make head againſt the Roman

" arms,

" arms, to which the Macedonians have been obliged to ſubmit? " No compariſon can be made between the paſt and the preſent " war. The Romans, at that time, employed in affairs of greater importance, gave their allies little or no aid. Now they " have put an end to the Punic war, which they ſuſtained 16 " years in the centre of Italy, they do not ſend ſuccours to the " Ætolians, but they themſelves, at the head of their armies, " invade Philip both by ſea and land. Quintius, the third conſul whom they have ſent againſt him, having found him in a " poſt which ſeemed inacceſſible, did nevertheleſs force him " from it, plundered his camp, purſued him to Theſſaly, and " took, almoſt in his ſight, the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes belonging to " his allies. I will take it for granted, that whatever the " Athenian ambaſſador has advanced concerning the cruelty, " the avarice, and the exceſſes of Philip, is not true; that the " crimes which he committed in Attica do not any way affect " us, any more than thoſe he perpetrated in many other places " againſt the gods celeſtial, terreſtrial, and infernal; that we even " ought to bury in everlaſting oblivion the injuries we have " ſuffered from him. In a word, if we ſuppoſe that we are " not treating with Philip, but with Antigonus, a mild and " juſt prince, and from whom we all have received the greateſt " ſervices; would he make a demand like that of to-day, ſo " evidently oppoſite to our ſafety and preſervation? In caſe " Nabis and his Lacedæmonians ſhould come and invade us by " land, and the Roman fleet by ſea, will it be poſſible for the " king to ſupport us againſt ſuch formidable enemies, or ſhall " we be able to defend ourſelves? Paſt tranſactions point out " to what we muſt expect hereafter. The medium which is " propoſed, of our ſtanding neuter, will infallibly render us a " prey to the conqueror, who will not fail to attack us as cunning politicians, who waited for the event, before we would " declare ourſelves. Believe what I ſay, when I aſſure you " there is no medium. We muſt either have the Romans for " our friends or our enemies; and they are come to us with a " ſtrong fleet, to offer us their friendſhip and their aid. To " refuſe ſo advantageous an offer, and ſlight ſo favourable an " occaſion, which will never return, would be the higheſt folly, " and ſhow that we run voluntarily on our own deſtruction."

This ſpeech was followed by a great noiſe and murmuring throughout the whole aſſembly, ſome applauding it with joy, and others oppoſing it with violence. The magiſtrates, called Demiurgi, were no leſs divided among themſelves. Of theſe, who were 10 in number, five declared that each of them would deliberate

deliberate upon the affair in his assembly, and before his people; and the other five protested against it, upon pretence that the laws forbade both the magistrate to propose, and the assembly to pass, any decree contrary to the alliance concluded with Philip. This day was entirely spent in quarrels and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, on which the laws appointed the assembly to end. The debates grew so hot, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could scarce forbear striking their sons. Memnon of Pallene was one of the five magistrates who refused to make the report. His father, whose name was Rhisiases, entreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own safety, and not expose them, by his obstinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers could not avail, he swore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, considering him, not as his son, but the enemy of his country. These terrible menaces, and paternal authority, made such an impression on Memnon, that he at last acquiesced.

The next day, the majority in the assembly desiring to have the affair debated, and the people discovering plainly enough what it was they wanted, the Dymæans, Megalopolitans, and some Argives, withdrew from the assembly before the decree passed: and no one took offence at this, because they had particular obligations to Philip, who also had lately done them very considerable services. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is abhorred every-where. All the other states, when the votes were to be taken, confirmed immediately by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and suspended the entire conclusion of that with the Romans, till ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Quintius; and the whole army of the Achæans marched to Corinth, which Lucius, the consul's brother, had already besieged, having before taken Cenchreæ. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, from the hopes that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and the inhabitants. However, finding the city was quiet, the machines of war were made to approach on all sides, and various assaults were made, which the besieged sustained with great vigour, and always repulsed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deserters, who, in case the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans, and therefore fought in despair. Philocles, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a fresh reinforcement into the city, and the Romans

Romans despairing to force it, at last Lucius acquiesced with the advice of Attalus, and accordingly the siege was raised. The Achæans being sent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board their fleets. The former sailed to the Piræus, and the latter to Corcyra.

Whilst the fleets besieged Corinth, T. Quintius the consul was employed in the siege of Elatea, where he was more successful: for, after the besieged had made a stout and vigorous resistance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the same time, such of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up their city to Philocles, one of his generals. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achæans had just before concluded with the Romans, Philip still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos.

SECTION III.

THE ÆTOLIANS, AND NABIS, DECLARE FOR THE ROMANS—PHILIP DEFEATED, AND A PEACE CONCLUDED.

New * consuls were appointed at Rome; but as the slow progress which had been made in the affairs of Macedonia, were justly ascribed to the frequent changing of those who were charged with them, Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were sent him.

† The season being already advanced, Quintius had taken up his winter quarters in Phocis and Locris; when Philip sent a herald to him to desire an interview. Quintius complied very readily, because he did not know what had been resolved upon at Rome with regard to himself; and that a conference would give him the liberty, either to continue the war, in case he should be continued in the command, or dispose matters so as to bring about a peace, if a successor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by several Macedonian noblemen, and Cycliades, one of the chief of the Achæans, whom that people had banished a little before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amynander, king of Athamania, and by all the deputies of the allies. After some disputes with regard to the ceremonial, Quintius made his proposals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip answered them, and as he began to inveigh against the Ætolians, Phin-

* A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197. Liv. l. xxxii. n. 27 et 28.

† Liv. l. xxxi. n. 32—37. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 742—752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 371.

eas,

eas, their magiſtrate, interrupted him in theſe words: "We are "not met here merely about words; our buſineſs is, either to "conquer ſword in hand, or to ſubmit to the moſt powerful."—"A blind man may ſee that," replied Philip, ridiculing Phineas, whoſe ſight was bad. Philip * was very fond of jeſts, and could not refrain from them, even in treating on the moſt ſerious affairs: a behaviour very unbecoming in a prince.

This firſt interview being ſpent in conteſts, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it was believed he did purpoſely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time ſufficient for anſwering him. He had a private conference with Quintius, who having acquainted the confederates with his propoſals, not one approved them; and they were upon the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip deſired that the deciſion might be ſuſpended till the next day; promiſing that he himſelf would comply, in caſe it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earneſtly entreated Quintius and the allies not to oppoſe a peace; promiſing either to agree to it on the conditions which he himſelf ſhould preſcribe, or accept of ſuch as the ſenate might require. They could not refuſe ſo reaſonable a demand; and accordingly a truce was agreed, but on condition that his troops ſhould immediately leave Phocis and Locris. After this, the ſeveral parties ſent ambaſſadors to Rome.

Being arrived there, thoſe of the allies were heard firſt. They inveighed heavily againſt Philip upon ſeveral accounts; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the ſituation of the places, that in caſe he ſhould continue poſſeſſed of Demetrias in Theſſaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia (cities which he himſelf juſtly, though inſolently, calls the ſhackles of Greece), it would be impoſſible for that country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambaſſadors were afterwards called in. As they opened with a ſubject that would have ſpun to a great length, they were interrupted, and aſked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in queſtion? Having anſwered, that no orders or inſtructions had been given them on that head, they were ſent back, without being gratified in a ſingle demand. It was left to the option of Quintius, either to conclude a peace or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the ſenate would not be diſſatisfied at the latter; and he himſelf was much better pleaſed to put an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace.

* Erat dicacior natura quam regem decet, et ne inter ſeria quidem riſu ſatis temperans. Liv.

He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip, and ſent to acquaint him, that hereafter he would never agree to any propoſals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage by way of preliminary entirely to quit Greece.

* Philip was now firmly reſolved to make the neceſſary preparations for war. As it would be difficult for him to preſerve the cities of Achaia, through their great diſtance from his hereditary dominions, he delivered up Argos to Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, but only as a truſt, which he was to ſurrender back to him in caſe he ſhould be victorious in this war; but if things ſhould fall out otherwiſe, he then was to poſſeſs it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houſes and poſſeſſions of ſuch of the chiefs as had fled were plundered; and thoſe who ſtaid behind were robbed of all their gold and ſilver, and taxed in very heavy ſums. Thoſe who gave their money readily and cheerfully, were not moleſted; but ſuch as were either ſuſpected to conceal their riches, or diſcovered only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like ſo many ſlaves, and treated with the utmoſt indignity. Nabis having ſummoned the aſſembly, the firſt decree he enacted was for aboliſhing of debts; and the ſecond, for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out, to win the affections of the common people, and exaſperate them againſt the rich.

The tyrant ſoon forgot from whom, and on what condition, he held the city. He ſent ambaſſadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint them that he was maſter of Argos, and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree, without difficulty, to ſuch conditions of a treaty as he was deſirous of concluding with them. His propoſal was accepted: in conſequence of which the proconſul and the king had an interview with him near Argos; a ſtep which ſeemed very unbecoming both. In this meeting the Romans inſiſted that Nabis ſhould furniſh them with troops, and diſcontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the firſt article, but would conſent only to a four months' truce with the Achæans. The treaty was concluded on theſe conditions. This alliance with ſuch a tyrant as Nabis, ſo infamous for his injuſtice and cruelty, reflects diſhonour on the Romans; but in war, ſoldiers think themſelves allowed to take all advantages, at the expence even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a ſtrong garriſon into Argos, had plunder-

* Liv. l. iii. n. 38—40. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372.

ed

ed all the men, and diſpoſſeſſed them of all their riches: a little after, he ſent his wife thither, to uſe the ladies in the ſame manner. Accordingly, ſhe ſent for the women of the greateſt diſtinction, either ſeparately or in company; when, partly by civility, and partly by threats, ſhe extorted from them at different times, not only all their gold, but alſo their richeſt clothes, their moſt valuable moveables, and all their precious ſtones and jewels.

* When the ſpring was come (for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter), Quintius and Attalus reſolved, if poſſible, to ſecure the alliance of the Bœotians, which till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with ſome ambaſſadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where the common aſſembly met. They were ſecretly favoured and ſupported by Antiphilus the chief magiſtrate. The Bœotians thought at firſt that they had come without forces, and unguarded; but were greatly ſurpriſed when they ſaw Quintius followed by a conſiderable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged, that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the aſſembly. It was ſummoned to meet on the morrow. However, they concealed their grief and ſurpriſe; and indeed it would have been of no uſe, and even dangerous, to have diſcovered them.

Attalus ſpoke firſt, and expatiated on the ſervices which his anceſtors and himſelf had done all Greece, and the republic of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and ſpeaking with greater vehemence than ſuited his age, he fell down in the midſt of his ſpeech, and ſeemed half dead; ſo that they were forced to carry him out of the aſſembly, which interrupted their deliberations for ſome time. Ariſthenes, captain-general of the Achæans, ſpoke next; and after him Quintius, who did not ſpeak much, and laid greater ſtreſs on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was unanimouſly reſolved upon; no one daring to oppoſe, or ſpeak againſt it.

As Attalus' diſorder did not ſeem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatea; highly ſatisfied with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, which entirely ſecured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention and efforts on the ſide of Macedonia.

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 1, 2.

*As ſoon as Attalus had recovered a little ſtrength, he was carried to Pergamus, where he died ſoon after, aged 72 years, of which he had reigned 44. Polybius obſerves, that Attalus did not imitate moſt great men, to whom great riches are generally the occaſion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and munificent uſe of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his dominions, and of adorning himſelf with the title of King. He imagined he was rich, only that he might do good to others, and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful intereſt, in expending it in acts of bounty, and in purchaſing friends. He governed his ſubjects with the ſtricteſt juſtice, and always obſerved his engagements inviolably with his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender huſband, an affectionate father, and perfectly diſcharged all the duties of a king and of a private man. He left four ſons, Eumenes, Attalus, Phileteres, and Athenæus, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

†The armies on both ſides had ſet out upon their march, in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were pretty equal on both ſides, and each conſiſted of about 25 or 26,000 men. Quintius advanced into Theſſaly, where he was informed the enemy were alſo arrived; but being unable to diſcover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his ſoldiers to cut ſtakes, in order to make uſe of them upon occaſion.

Here Polybius and Livy, who frequently copies him, ſhow the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans uſed the ſtakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the beſt ſtakes were thoſe round whoſe trunk a greater number of branches were ſpread, which made them ſo much the heavier: beſides, as the arms of the Grecian ſoldiers were ſo ponderous that they could ſcarce carry them, they conſequently could not eaſily carry ſtakes at the ſame time. Now the Romans did not leave above three, or at moſt four branches to each ſtake they cut, and all of them on the ſame ſide. In this manner the ſoldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, and eſpecially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over his ſhoulder, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 21. Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 101, 102.

† Polyb. l xvii. p. 754—762. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 3. 11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 4.

Further,

Further, the latter kind of ſtakes do much greater ſervice. Thoſe of the Greeks might very eaſily be pulled up. As this ſtake, whoſe trunk was large, was ſingle and detached from the reſt; and beſides, as the branches of it were ſtrong and many in number, two or three ſoldiers could eaſily pull it out, and by that means open a way to enter the camp; not to mention that all the ſtakes near it muſt neceſſarily have been looſened, becauſe their branches were too ſhort to interweave one with the other. But it was not ſo with the ſtakes cut by the Romans; their branches being ſo cloſely interwoven, that it was ſcarce poſſible to diſcover the ſtake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up thoſe ſtakes by thruſting his hand into the branches, which were ſo cloſely intwined that no vacant place was left; beſides which, all the ends of them were ſharp-pointed. But though any hold could have been laid on them, yet the foot could not eaſily be removed, for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe it was driven ſo deep into the ground that there was no moving it; and ſecondly, becauſe the branches were ſo cloſely interwoven, that it was impoſſible to pull up one, without forcing away ſeveral others at the ſame time. Though two or three men put their whole ſtrength to them, it yet was impoſſible for them to force the ſtakes away; and yet, whenever by ſhaking and moving them about, they at laſt were forced out of their places, ſtill the opening made in that manner was almoſt imperceptible. Thus this kind of ſtakes was preferable, on three accounts, to thoſe of the Greeks: they were to be had everywhere, could be carried with eaſe, and were a ſtrong paliſade to a camp.

Theſe ſort of digreſſions, made by ſo great a maſter as Polybius, which turn on the uſages and practice of war, commonly pleaſe perſons of the military profeſſion, to whom they may furniſh uſeful hints; and, in my opinion, I ought to neglect nothing that may conduce to the public utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After a few ſkirmiſhes, in which the Ætolian cavalry ſignalized themſelves, and were always victorious, the two armies halted near Scotuſa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was ſo cloudy and dark, that a man could ſcarce ſee two paces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, commanding them to ſeize upon the ſummit of the hills called Cynoſcephale, which ſeparated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius alſo detached ten ſquadrons of horſe, and about 1000 light-armed troops, to re-

connoitre the enemy, and at the ſame time directed them in the ſtrongeſt terms to beware of ambuſcades, as the weather was ſo very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had ſeized the eminences. At firſt, both parties were a little ſurpriſed at meeting, and afterwards began to ſkirmiſh. Each party ſent advice to the general of what was doing. The Romans being not very able to oppoſe the enemy, diſpatched a courier to deſire a reinforcement. Quintius immediately ſent Archidamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians; and with them two tribunes, each of whom commanded 1000 men, with 500 horſe, which joining the former, ſoon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved valiantly enough; but being oppreſſed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence ſent to the king for ſuccour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his ſoldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his firſt troops were in, and the ſky beginning to clear up, diſpatched Heraclides, who commanded the Theſſalian cavalry, Leo, who commanded that of Macedonia, and Athenagoras, under whom were all the hired ſoldiers, thoſe of Thrace excepted. When this reinforcement joined the firſt detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived, and they returned to the charge, and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would have gained a complete victory, had it not been for the reſiſtance made by the Ætolian cavalry, who fought with aſtoniſhing courage and intrepidity. Theſe were the beſt ſoldiers among the Greeks, and were particularly famous for ſkirmiſhes and ſingle combats. Theſe ſo well ſuſtained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been repulſed into the valley. At ſome diſtance from the enemy, they took breath a little, and afterwards returned to the charge.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleaſed either with the place or the weather, but could not refuſe himſelf either to the repeated ſhouts or entreaties of his ſoldiers, who beſought him to lead them on to battle; and accordingly he marched them out of his intrenchments. The proconſul did the ſame, and drew up his ſoldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each ſide, in this inſtant which was going to determine their fate, animated their troops by all the moſt affecting motives. Philip repreſented to his ſoldiers, the Perſians, Bactrians, Indians, in a word, all Aſia and the whole Eaſt, ſubdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought to behave

have with the greater courage, as they were now to fight, not for sovereignty, but for liberty, which, to valiant minds, is more dear and valuable than the empire of the universe. As to the proconsul, he put his soldiers in mind of the victories they had so lately gained: on one side, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, subdued by the Romans; and to say all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal, if not superior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms; and (which ought to rouse their courage the more) Philip, whom they now were going to engage, defeated more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired by these speeches, the soldiers, who, on one side, called themselves victors of the East; and on the other, conquerors of the West; the former, fired with the glorious atchievements of their ancestors; and the latter, proud of the trophies and the victories they had so lately gained; prepared on each side for battle. Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its post, placed the elephants in the front of this wing; and marching with an haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing against the enemy in person. And now the skirmishers seeing themselves supported by the legions, return to the charge, and begin the attack.

Philip, with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, hastens towards the mountains; commanding Nicanor to march the rest of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light-armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleased at the sight. However, not long after seeing them give way, and in exceeding want of support, he was obliged to sustain them, and engage in a general battle, though the greatest part of his phalanx was still upon their march towards the hills where he then was. In the mean time he receives such of his troops as had been repulsed; posts them, whether horse or foot, on his right wing; and commands the light-armed soldiers and the phalanx to double their files, and to keep their ranks close on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commands the phalanx to march towards them with their pikes presented, and the light-armed to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintius had also, at the same time, received into his intervals those who had begun the fight, and he charged the Macedonians. The onset being begun, each side set up the most dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had visibly all the advantage; for, charging impetuously from those hills with his phalanx on the Romans, the latter could not sustain the shock of troops so well

well cloſed and covered with their ſhields, and an impenetrable front of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which was but juſt arrived. As its ranks were broke and ſeparated by the hillocs and uneven ground, Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorouſly the left wing of the Macedonians; perſuaded, that if he could but break it, and put it in diſorder, it would draw after it the other wing, although victorious. The event anſwered his expectation. As this wing, on account of the unevenneſs and ruggedneſs of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx, nor double its ranks to give depth to that order of battle, in which its whole ſtrength conſiſts, it was entirely defeated.

On this occaſion a tribune, who had not above 20 companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Obſerving that Philip, who was at a great diſtance from the reſt of the army, charged the left wing of the Romans with vigour, he leaves the right where he was, it not being in want of ſupport, and conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the armies, conſulting only his own reaſon, he marches towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charges them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the cloſeneſs of its ranks, cannot face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The tribune breaks into it, killing all before him as he advanced; and the Macedonians, not being able to defend themſelves, throw down their arms, and fly. What increaſed the ſlaughter was, that the Romans who had given way, having rallied, were returned to attack the phalanx in front at the ſame time.

Philip, judging at firſt of the reſt of the battle, from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, aſſured himſelf of a complete victory: but when he ſaw his ſoldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them from behind, he drew off with a body of troops to ſome diſtance from the field of battle, and from thence took a ſurvey of the whole engagement; but perceiving that the Romans, who purſued his left wing, extended almoſt to the ſummit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could aſſemble, and endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he halted to wait for thoſe who had eſcaped the defeat. He had been ſo prudent as to ſend orders to Lariſſa to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of diſtreſſing any

of

of his friends. The Romans purſued for ſome time thoſe who fled. The Ætolians were accuſed of having occaſioned Philip's eſcape; for they amuſed themſelves in plundering his camp, whilſt the Romans were employed in purſuing the enemy, ſo that when they returned they found almoſt nothing in it. They reproached them at firſt on that account, and afterwards quarrelled outright, each ſide loading the other with the groſſeſt inſults. On the morrow, after having got together the priſoners and the reſt of the ſpoils, they marched towards Lariſſa. The Romans loſt about 700 men in this battle, and the Macedonians 13,000, whereof 8000 died in the field, and 5000 were taken priſoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoſcephale.

The Ætolians had certainly ſignalized themſelves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory: but then they were ſo vain, or rather inſolent, as to aſcribe the ſucceſs of it entirely to themſelves; declaring, without reſerve or modeſty, that they were far better ſoldiers than the Romans; and ſpread this report throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was already offended at them for their greedy impatience in ſeizing the plunder without waiting for the Romans, was ſtill more enraged at them for their inſolent reports in regard to their ſuperior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldneſs towards them, and never informed them of any thing relating to public affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occaſions.

Theſe reports ſeem to have made too ſtrong an impreſſion on Quintius, who ought, in prudence, to have acted with more tenderneſs and caution in regard to allies ſo uſeful to the Romans; for by thus alienating their affection, he paved the way, at a diſtance, for that open defection, to which the reſentment of the Ætolians afterwards carried them. But had he diſſembled wiſely; had he ſhut his eyes and ears to many things, and appeared ſometimes ignorant of what the Ætolians might ſay or do improperly, he might perhaps have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip ſent ambaſſadors to Flamininus, who was at Lariſſa, upon pretence of deſiring a truce for burying the dead, but in reality to obtain an interview with him. The proconſul agreed to both requeſts, and was ſo polite as to bid the meſſenger tell the king, "That he deſired him "not to deſpond." The Ætolians were highly offended at this meſſage. As theſe people were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of theirs from their own, they imagined that Flamininus would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him by bribes;

bribes; and they were not aſhamed to ſpread ſuch reports among the allies.

The Roman general ſet out, with the confederates, for the entrance to Tempe, which was the appointed rendezvous. He aſſembled them before the king arrived, to inquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Amynander, king of Athamania, who ſpoke in the name of the reſt, ſaid, that ſuch a treaty ought to be concluded, as might enable Greece to preſerve peace and liberty, even in the abſence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian ſpoke next, and ſaid, That if the proconſul imagined, that in concluding a peace with Philip, he ſhould procure a ſolid peace for the Romans, or laſting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly miſtaken: that the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom; and that this might be very eaſily effected, provided he would take the advantage of the preſent occaſion. After corroborating what he had advanced with ſeveral reaſons, he ſat down.

Quintius, addreſſing himſelf to Alexander: "You do not "know," ſays he, "either the character of the Romans, my "views, or the intereſt of Greece. It is not uſual with the "Romans, after they have engaged in war with a king, or other "power, to ruin him entirely; and of this Hannibal and the "Carthaginians are a manifeſt proof. As to myſelf, I never "intended to make an irreconcilable war againſt Philip, but "was inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he ſhould yield "to the conditions that ſhould be preſcribed him. You your"ſelves, Ætolians, in the aſſemblies which were held for that "purpoſe, never once mentioned depriving Philip of his king"dom. Should victory inſpire us with ſuch a deſign? How "ſhameful were ſuch ſentiments? When an enemy attacks us "in the field, it is our buſineſs to repel him with bravery and "haughtineſs: but when he is fallen, it is the duty of the "victor to ſhow moderation, gentleneſs, and humanity. With "regard to the Greeks, it is their intereſt, I confeſs, that the "kingdom of Macedonia ſhould be leſs powerful that formerly; "but it no leſs concerns their welfare, that it ſhould not be "entirely deſtroyed. That kingdom ſerves them as a barrier "againſt the Thracians and Gauls *, who, were they not

* A great number of Gauls had ſettled in the countries adjoining to Thrace.

"checked

"checked by it, would certainly fall heavy upon Greece, as "they have frequently done before."

Flamininus concluded with declaring, that his opinion, and that of the council were, that if Philip would promise to observe faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly prescribed, that then a peace should be granted him, after having consulted the senate about it; and that the Ætolians might form whatever resolutions they pleased on this occasion. Phineas, prætor of the Ætolians, having represented, in very strong terms, that Philip, if he should escape the present danger, would soon form new projects, and light up a fresh war: "I shall take "care of that," replied the proconsul, "and shall take effectual "methods to put it out of his power to undertake any thing "against us."

The next day Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference; and three days after, the council being met again, he came into it, and spoke with so much prudence and wisdom, as softened the whole assembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute whatever conditions the Romans and the allies should prescribe; and that with regard to every thing else, he would rely entirely on the discretion of the senate. Upon these words the whole council were silent; only Phineas the Ætolian started some difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reason entirely disregarded.

But what prompted Flamininus to urge the conclusion of the peace was, his having advice, that Antiochus, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended, that Philip might think of putting his cities into a condition of defence, and thereby might gain time. Besides, he was sensible, that should another consul come in his stead, all the honour of that war would be ascribed to him. These reasons prevailed with him to grant the king a four months truce; whereupon he received 400 * talents from him, took Demetrius his son, and some of his friends, as hostages; and gave him permission to send to Rome, to receive such further conditions from the senate as they should prescribe. Matters being thus adjusted, the parties separated, after having mutually promised, that in case a peace should not be concluded, Flamininus should return Philip the talents and the hostages. This being done, the several parties concerned sent deputations to Rome; some to solicit peace, and others to throw obstacles in its way.

* 400,000 French crowns.

Whilst

* Whilſt theſe meaſures were concerting, to bring about a general peace, ſome expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in ſeveral places. Androſthenes, who commanded under the king at Corinth, had a conſiderable body of troops, conſiſting of above 6000 men: he was defeated in a battle by Nicoſtratus, prætor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares, and attacked him at a time when his troops were diſperſed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians were divided in their ſentiments; ſome being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid ſiege to Leucus. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoſcephale, the whole country ſubmitted to the conquerors. At the ſame time the Rhodians took Perea, a ſmall country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had been unjuſtly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other ſide, repulſed the Dardanians, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, to plunder it during the ill ſtate of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Theſſalonica.

† At Rome, the time for the election of conſuls being come, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus were choſen. At the ſame time letters arrived from Quintius, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were firſt read before the ſenate, and afterwards to the people, and public prayers during five days were ordered, to thank the gods for the protection they had granted the Romans in the war againſt Philip.

Some days after, ambaſſadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia. The affair was debated in the ſenate. Each of the ambaſſadors made long ſpeeches, according to his reſpective views and intereſts; but, at laſt, the majority were for peace. The ſame affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who paſſionately deſired to command the armies in Greece, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to break the treaty, but all to no purpoſe; for the people approved of Flamininus's propoſal, and ratified the conditions. Afterwards the ſenate appointed 10 of the moſt illuſtrious citizens to go into Greece, in order for them to ſettle, in conjunction with Flamininus, the affairs of that country, and ſecure its liberties. In the ſame aſſembly, the Achæans deſired to be received as allies of the people of Rome: but that affair meeting with ſome difficulties, it was referred to the ten commiſſioners.

* Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 14—19.

† A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 793, 794. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 24, et 27—29.

A ſedition

A ſedition had broke out in Bœotia, between the partizans of Philip and thoſe of the Romans, which roſe to a great height. Nevertheleſs, it was not attended with any ill conſequences, the proconſul having ſoon appeaſed it.

* The ten commiſſioners, who had ſet out from Rome to ſettle the affairs of Greece, arrived ſoon in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace, which they ſettled in concert with Flamininus, were as follow: that all the † other cities of Greece, both in Aſia and Europe, ſhould be free, and be governed by their own laws: that Philip, before the celebration of the Iſthmian games, ſhould evacuate thoſe in which he then had garriſons: that he ſhould reſtore to the Romans all the priſoners and deſerters, and deliver up to them all the ſhips that had decks, five feluccas excepted, and the galley having 16 benches of oars: that he ſhould pay 1000 talents‡; one half down, and the other half in 10 years, 50 every year, by way of tribute. Among the hoſtages required of him, was Demetrius his ſon, who accordingly was ſent to Rome.

In this manner Flamininus ended the Macedonian war, to the great ſatisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome; for not to mention Hannibal, who, though vanquiſhed, might ſtill have an opportunity of finding the Romans conſiderable employment, Antiochus, ſeeing his power conſiderably increaſed by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the ſurname of Great, had actually reſolved to carry his arms into Europe. If therefore Flamininus, by his great prudence, had not foreſeen what would come to paſs, and had not ſpeedily concluded this peace; had the war againſt Antiochus been joined, in the midſt of Greece, with the war carrying on againſt Philip; and had the two greateſt and moſt powerful kings then in the world, uniting their views and intereſts, invaded Rome at the ſame time; it is certain, the Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and as great dangers as thoſe they had been obliged to ſuſtain in the war againſt Hannibal.

As ſoon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Æto-

* Polyb Except. Legat. p. 795—800. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30—35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374—376.

† The word *other* is put here in oppoſition to ſuch of the Grecian cities as were ſubject to Philip, part of which only were reſtored to their liberties, becauſe the Romans thought it neceſſary to garriſon Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth.

‡ About L.190,000.

lia excepted, received the news of it with univerſal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country ſeemed diſſatisfied, and inveighed privately againſt it among the confederates, affirming, that it was nothing but empty words: that the Greeks were amuſed with the name of liberty, with which ſpecious term the Romans covered their intereſted views: that they indeed ſuffered the cities in Aſia to enjoy their freedom, but that they ſeemed to reſerve to themſelves thoſe of Europe, as Orea, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth: that therefore Greece, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was not freed from its chains, and, at moſt, had only changed its ſovereign.

Theſe complaints made the proconſul ſo much the more uneaſy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commiſſioners, purſuant to the inſtructions they had received from Rome, adviſed Flamininus to reſtore all the Greeks to their liberty, but to keep poſſeſſion of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the inlets of Greece, and to put ſtrong garriſons into them, to prevent their being ſeized by Antiochus. He obtained, in the council, to have Corinth ſet at liberty; but it was reſolved there, that a ſtrong garriſon ſhould be put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias; and this for a time only, till they ſhould be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Iſthmian games were to be ſolemnized; and the expectation of what was there to be tranſacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and perſons of the higheſt rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made public, was the topic of all converſations, and various conſtructions were put upon them; but very few could be perſuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when the multitude being aſſembled in the ſtadium to ſee the games, a herald comes forward, and publiſhes with a loud voice: "The ſenate and people of Rome, and Titus Quintius "the general, having overcome Philip and the Macedonians, eaſe "and deliver from all garriſons, and taxes, and impoſts, the Co"rinthians, the Locrians, the Phocians, the Eubœans, the "Phthiot Achæans, the Magneſians, the Theſſalians, and the "Perrhæbians; declare them free, and ordain that they ſhall "be governed by their reſpective laws and uſages."

At theſe words, which many heard but imperfectly, becauſe of the noiſe that interrupted them, all the ſpectators were filled with exceſs of joy. They gazed upon, and queſtioned one another with aſtoniſhment, and could not believe either their eyes

or

or ears; so like a dream was what they then saw and heard. It was thought necessary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now listened to with the most profound silence, so that not a single word of the decree was lost. But now fully assured of their happiness, they abandoned themselves again to the highest transports of joy, and broke into such loud and repeated acclamations, that the sea resounded them to a great distance; and some ravens, which happened to fly that instant over the assembly, fell down in the stadium: so true it is, that of all the blessings of this life, none are so dear to mankind as liberty! The games and sports were hurried over with neglect and disregard; for so great was the general joy upon this occasion, that it extinguished all other thoughts and regards.

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to see his deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his hand, and to throw crowns and festoons of flowers over him, he would have run the hazard of being pressed to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years (for he was not above 33 years old), and the joy which so glorious a day gave him, sustained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it.

And indeed I would ask, whether any mortal ever saw a more happy or more glorious day than this was for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in comparison with what we have seen on this occasion? Should we estimate the value of all the trophies, all the victories, all the conquests of Alexander and the greatest captains, how little would they appear, when opposed to this single action of goodness, humanity, and justice? It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not so sensible as they ought to be, to so refined a joy, to so affecting and exquisite a glory, as that which arises from doing good to many.

The remembrance of so delightful a day, and of the invaluable blessing then bestowed, was for ever renewing, and for a long time the only subject of conversation at all times and in all places. Every one cried, in the highest transports of admiration, and a kind of enthusiasm, "that there was a people in the world, who at "their own expence and the hazard of their lives, engage in war "for the liberty of other nations; and that not for their neigh- "bours or people situated on the same continent, but who crossed "seas, and sailed to distant climes, to destroy and extirpate unjust "power from the earth, and to establish universally, law, equity, "and justice: that by a single word, and the voice of a herald, "liberty had been restored to all the cities of Greece and Asia:

" that a great ſoul only could have formed ſuch a deſign; but " that to execute it was the effect at once of the higheſt good for- " tune, and the moſt conſummate virtue."

* They call to mind all the great battles which Greece had fought for the ſake of liberty. " After ſuſtaining ſo many " wars," ſaid they, " never was its valour crowned with ſo bleſ- " ſed a reward as when ſtrangers came and took up arms in its " defence. It was then, that almoſt without ſhedding a drop " of blood, or loſing ſcarce one man, it acquired the greateſt " and nobleſt of all prizes for which mankind can contend. " Valour and prudence are rare at all times; but, of all virtues, " juſtice is moſt rare. Ageſilaus, Lyſander, Nicias, and Alci- " biades, had great abilities for carrying on war, and gaining " battles both by ſea and land; but then it was for themſelves " and their country, not for ſtrangers and foreigners, they " fought. That height of glory was reſerved for the Ro- " mans."

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the preſent ſtate of affairs, and the effects ſoon anſwered the glorious proclamation made at the Iſthmian games; for the commiſſioners ſeparated, to go and put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus, being returned from Argos, was appointed preſident of the Nemæan games. He diſcharged perfectly well all the duties of that employment, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to add to the pomp and magnificence of the feſtival; and he alſo publiſhed by a herald at theſe games, as he had done at all the reſt, the liberty of Greece.

As he viſited the ſeveral cities, he eſtabliſhed good ordinances in them, reformed laws, reſtored amity and concord between the citizens, by appeaſing quarrels and ſeditions, and recalling the exiles; infinitely more pleaſed with being able by the means of perſuaſion to reconcile the Greeks, and to re-eſtabliſh unity amongſt them, than he had been in conquering the Macedonians; ſo that liberty ſeemed the leaſt of the bleſſings they had received from him. And indeed, of what ſervice would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not juſtice and concord been reſtored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces! How happy are the people under magiſtrates of this character!

It is related that Xenocrates the philoſopher, having been delivered at Athens, by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands

* Plut. in Flamin.

of

of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to prison, in order to make him pay a sum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the public treasury, and meeting soon after the sons of his deliverer, he said to them, "I repay with usury the "kindness your father did me; for I am the cause that all "mankind praise him." But the gratitude which the Greeks showed Flamininus and the Romans did not terminate merely in praising, but was also of infinite service to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements; for they not only received such generals as the Romans sent them, but requested earnestly that they might be sent; they called them in, and put themselves into their hands with joy. And not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer against the injustice of neighbouring powers, had recourse to them, and put themselves in a manner under their safeguard; so that, in a short time, from an effect of the divine protection, to use Plutarch's expression *, the whole earth submitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commissioners who had dispersed themselves up and down, came to the assembly of the Greeks which was held at Thermæ †, a city of Ætolia. He there made a long speech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared, and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but with modesty, that the Romans, from the victory they had obtained, did not show so much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harsh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans would neither have conquered Philip, nor have been able to set foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all disputes and contests, which are always of pernicious consequence, was so prudent as only to refer them to the senate, assuring them that all possible justice would be done them. Accordingly they came to that resolution; and thus ended the war against Philip.

* Θεῷ συνεφαπτομένῳ.

† Accordingly to Livy, it was at Thermopylæ. It is doubted whether he has translated justly Polybius in this place: ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θερμικῶν σύνοδον. This is said of an assembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is in Ætolia.

SECTION IV.

THE ROMANS SEND AN EMBASSY TO ANTIOCHUS.—CONSPIRACY AGAINST PTOLEMY.—SCOPAS PUT TO DEATH.

THE war of Macedonia had ended very fortunately for the Romans, who otherwiſe would have been invaded by two powerful enemies at the ſame time, Philip and Antiochus: for it was evident, that the Romans would ſoon be obliged to proclaim war againſt the king of Syria, who enlarged his conqueſts daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to croſs over into Europe.

* After having eſtabliſhed good order in Cœleſyria and Paleſtine, by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral cities of Aſia Minor, and, among thoſe, of Epheſus, he took the moſt proper meaſures for the ſucceſs of his deſigns, and to give him the poſſeſſion of all thoſe kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his anceſtors.

Smyrna, Lampſacus, and the other Grecian cities of Aſia who enjoyed their liberty at that time, ſeeing plainly that he intended to bring them under ſubjection, reſolved to defend themſelves: but being unable to reſiſt ſo powerful an enemy, they implored the Romans for protection, which was ſoon granted. The Romans ſaw plainly, that it was their intereſt to check the progreſs of Antiochus towards the weſt, and how fatal the conſequence would be, ſhould they ſuffer him to extend his power by ſettling on the coaſt of Aſia, according to the plan he had laid down. The Romans were therefore very glad of the opportunity thoſe free cities gave them of oppoſing it, and immediately ſent an embaſſy to him.

Before the ambaſſadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already ſent off detachments from his army, which had formed the ſieges of Smyrna and Lampſacus That prince had paſſed the Helleſpont in perſon with the reſt of it, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Thracian Cherſoneſus. Finding the city of † Lyſimachia all in ruins, the Thracians having demoliſhed it a few years before, he began to rebuild it, with the deſign of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus his ſecond ſon; to make all the country round it his dominions, and this city the capital of a new kingdom.

* A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 38—41. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 769, 770. Appian. de bellis Syr. p. 86—88.

† This city ſtood on the Iſthmus or neck of the peninſula.

At

At the very time that he was revolving all these new projects, the Roman ambassadors arrived in Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country, and were attended by deputies from the Grecian cities in Asia. In the first conferences, the whole passed in civilities, which appeared sincere; but when they proceeded to business, the face of affairs was soon changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore to Ptolemy the several cities in Asia which he had taken from him: that he should evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip; it not being just that he should reap the fruits of the war, which the Romans had carried on against that prince: and that he should not molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly surprised at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with two such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lysimachia, an undertaking which could have no other view but to invade them.

To all this Antiochus answered, that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction when his marriage, which was already concluded, should be solemnized: that with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to receive it. With respect to Lysimachia, he declared, that he rebuilt it, with the design of making it the residence of Seleucus his son; that Thrace and the Chersonesus, which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lysimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors, and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he desired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Asia than he did with those of Italy.

The Romans desiring that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampsacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. These spoke with so much freedom, as incensed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a passion, that the Romans had no business to judge of those affairs. Upon this, the assembly broke up in great disorder; none of the parties received satisfaction, and the whole seemed to make a rupture inevitable.

During these negotiations, a report was spread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himself master of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet, in order to go and take possession of it. He left his son Seleucus at Lysimachia with the army, to complete the projects he had

had formed with regard to thoſe parts. He firſt went to Epheſus, where he cauſed all his ſhips in that port to join his fleet, in order to ſail as ſoon as poſſible for Egypt. Arriving at Patara in Lycia, certain advice was brought, that the report which was ſpread concerning Ptolemy's death, was falſe. For this reaſon he changed his courſe, and made for the iſland of Cyprus, in order to ſeize it; but a ſtorm that aroſe ſunk many of his ſhips, deſtroyed a great number of his men, and broke all his meaſures. He thought himſelf very happy, in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered in Antiochia, without making any new attempt that year.

* The foundation of the rumour which was ſpread of Ptolemy's death, was from a conſpiracy's having been really formed againſt his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general ſeeing himſelf at the head of all the foreign troops, the greateſt part of which were Ætolians, his countrymen, imagined that with ſo formidable a body of well-diſciplined veteran forces, it would be eaſy for him to uſurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let ſlip the opportunity, by conſulting and debating with his friends, inſtead of acting, he would certainly have ſucceeded. Ariſtomenes, the prime miniſter, being apprized of the conſpiracy, laid Scopas under an arreſt; after which, he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed with all his accomplices. This plot made the government conſide no longer in the Ætolians, who, till then, had been in great eſteem for their fidelity; moſt of them were removed from their employments, and ſent into their own country. After Scopas' death, immenſe treaſures were found in his coffers, which he had amaſſed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the courſe of his victories in Paleſtine, had ſubjected Judæa and Jeruſalem to the Egyptian empire, the greateſt part of his treaſures aroſe, no doubt, from thence. The tranſition from avarice to perfidy and treaſon is often very ſhort; and the fidelity of that general who diſcovers a paſſion for riches cannot be ſafely relied on.

One of Scopas' principal accomplices was Dicæarchus, who formerly had been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very ſtrange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the iſlands called Cyclades, in open violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties: before he came

* Polyb. l. xvii. p. 771—773.

out

out of the harbour, he set up two altars, one to injustice, and the other to impiety; and offered sacrifices on both, to insult, as one would imagine, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him also from the rest of the conspirators in his execution. He dispatched all the others by poison, but as for Dicæarchus, he caused him to die in exquisite torments.

The contrivers of the conspiracy being put to death, and all their measures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though he had not yet quite attained the years appointed by the laws, and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity. He thereby took the government upon himself, and accordingly began to transact business. As long as Aristomenes administered under him, all things went well: but when he conceived disgust for that faithful and able minister, and not long after put him to death (to rid himself of a man whose virtue was offensive to him), the remainder of his reign was one continued series of disorder and confusion. His subjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was most triumphant.

* When the ten commissioners, who were sent to settle the affairs of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report, they told the senate, that they must expect and prepare for a new war, which would be still more dangerous than that they had just before terminated: that Antiochus had crossed into Europe with a strong army, and a considerable fleet: that upon a false report which had been spread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had set out, in order to possess himself of Egypt, and that otherwise he would have made Greece the seat of war: that the Ætolians, a people naturally restless and turbulent, and disgusted with Rome, would certainly rise on that occasion: that Greece fostered in its own bosom a tyrant, Nabis, more avaricious and cruel than any of his predecessors, who was meditating how to enslave it: and therefore, having been restored in vain to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its sovereign, and would fall under a more grievous captivity than before, especially if Nabis should continue in possession of the city of Argos.

Flamininus was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus' steps. He

* A. M. 3809. Ant. J. C. 195. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 44—49. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 2.

had

had juſt before left Antiochia, in the beginning of the ſpring, in order to go to Epheſus; and had ſcarce left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmoleſted at Carthage, during ſix years, from the concluſion of the peace with the Romans: but he was now ſuſpected of holding a ſecret correſpondence with Antiochus, and of forming with him the deſign of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies ſent advice of this ſecretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embaſſy to Carthage, for more particular information in the fact; with orders, in caſe the proofs ſhould be manifeſt, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general * had too much penetration and foreſight, and had been too long accuſtomed to prepare for ſtorms, even in the greateſt calms, not to ſuſpect their deſign; ſo that before they had an opportunity to execute their commiſſion, he withdrew privately, got to the coaſt, and went on board a ſhip which always lay ready by his order againſt ſuch an occaſion. He eſcaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Epheſus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was meditating in ſuſpence whether he ſhould engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great ſatisfaction. He did not doubt, but with the counſel and aſſiſtance of a man who had ſo often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby juſtly acquired the reputation of being the greateſt general of the age, he ſhould be able to complete all his deſigns. He now thought of nothing but victories and conqueſts: accordingly, war was reſolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the neceſſary preparations. Nevertheleſs, during that time, embaſſies were ſent on both ſides, upon pretext of an accommodation, but in reality to gain time, and ſpy what the enemy were doing.

† With regard to Greece, all the ſtates, except the Ætolians, whoſe ſecret diſcontent I obſerved before, enjoyed the ſweets of liberty and peace, and in that condition admired no leſs the temperance, juſtice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the ſtate of things when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war againſt

* Sed res Annibalem non diu latuit, virum ad proſpicienda cavendaque pericula peritum; nec minus in ſecundis adverſa, quam in adverſis, ſecunda cogitantem. Juſtin.

† Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 22—43.

Nabis.

Nabis. Upon this, he convenes the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cauſe of their meeting, "You perceive," ſays he, "that the ſubject of the preſent deliberation ſolely regards you. Our buſineſs is to determine, "whether Argos, an ancient and moſt illuſtrious city, ſituated "in the midſt of Greece, ſhall enjoy its liberty in common with "the reſt of the cities, or whether it ſhall continue ſubject to "the tyrant of Sparta, who has ſeized it. This affair concerns "the Romans only, as the ſlavery of a ſingle city would bereave "them of the glory of having entirely delivered Greece. Conſider therefore what is to be done, and your reſolutions ſhall "determine my conduct."

The aſſembly were not divided in their opinion, except the Ætolians, who could not forbear ſhowing their reſentment againſt the Romans, which they carried ſo high, as to charge them with breach of faith in keeping poſſeſſion of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time that they boaſted their having entirely reſtored the liberty of Greece. They inveighed no leſs againſt the reſt of the allies, who deſired to be ſecured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who, according to them, were Greeks only in name, but its real enemies in their hearts. The diſpute growing warm, Quintius obliged them to debate only on the ſubject before them; upon which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that war ſhould be declared againſt Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to reſtore Argos to its former liberty; and every one promiſed to ſend a ſpeedy ſuccour; which was faithfully performed. Ariſthenes, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleone, with 10,000 foot, and 1000 horſe.

Philip ſent 1500 men as his quota, and the Theſſalians 400 horſe. Quintius's brother arrived alſo with a fleet of 40 galleys, to which the Rhodians and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Ageſipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta juſtly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lycurgus, the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies deſigned at firſt to beſiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more adviſeable to march directly againſt the tyrant. He had greatly ſtrengthened the fortifications of Sparta, and had ſent for 1000 choſen ſoldiers from Crete, whom he joined to the other 1000 he had already among his forces. He had 3000 other foreign troops in his ſervice; and, beſides theſe, 10,000 natives of the country, excluſive of the helots.

At

At the ſame time, he alſo concerted meaſures to ſecure himſelf from domeſtic troubles. Having cauſed the people to come unarmed to the aſſembly, and poſting armed ſoldiers round them, after ſome little preamble, he declared, that as the preſent juncture of affairs obliged him to take ſome precautions for his own ſafety, he therefore was determined to impriſon a certain number of citizens, whom he had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect; and that the inſtant the enemy ſhould be repulſed (whom, he ſaid, he had no reaſon to fear, provided things were quiet at home), he would releaſe thoſe priſoners. He then named about 80 youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a ſtrong priſon, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He alſo put to death in the villages a great number of the helots, who were ſuſpected of a deſign to deſert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity ſpread univerſal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly reſolved not to quit the city during the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle againſt troops much ſuperior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almoſt under the walls of the city, whilſt he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops againſt him. As the Romans did not expect ſuch a ſally, becauſe they had not been oppoſed at all upon their march, they were at firſt put into ſome diſorder; but ſoon recovering themſelves, they repulſed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops, in order of battle, near the river on the other ſide of the city, when the rear guard had paſſed, Nabis cauſed his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans inſtantly faced about, and the charge was very rude on both ſides; but at laſt, the foreigners were broke and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, purſued them every-where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius encamped near Amyclea; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round the city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas, and from thence ruined the valleys at the foot of mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the ſea.

At the ſame time, the proconſul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid ſiege to Gythium, at that time a ſtrong and very important city. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very ſeaſonably; for the beſieged defended themſelves with great courage: however, after making a long and vigorous reſiſtance, they ſurrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city, and therefore ſent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which

which was granted. Beſides ſeveral other arguments in his own favour on which Nabis laid great ſtreſs, he inſiſted ſtrongly on the late alliance which the Romans, and Quintius himſelf, had concluded with him in the war againſt Philip: an alliance, on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans profeſſed themſelves faithful and religious obſervers of treaties, which they boaſted their having never violated: that nothing had been changed on his part ſince the treaty: that he was then what he had always been, and had never given the Romans any new occaſion for complaints or reproaches. Theſe arguments were very juſt; and, to ſay the truth, Quintius had no ſolid reaſons to oppoſe to them. Accordingly, in his anſwer he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny: but was he leſs covetous, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty? Nothing was concluded in this firſt interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, ſince the Romans required it; as alſo, to give them up their priſoners and deſerters. He deſired Quintius, in caſe he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends; to which Quintius conſented. The Roman general alſo held a council with his allies. Moſt of them were of opinion, that they ſhould continue the war againſt Nabis, which could only terminate gloriouſly, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at leaſt his tyranny; for that otherwiſe nobody could be aſſured that the liberty of Greece was reſtored: that if the Romans made any kind of treaty with Nabis, that would be acknowledging him in a ſolemn manner, and giving a ſanction to his uſurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, becauſe he was afraid that the Spartans would ſuſtain a long ſiege, during which the war with Antiochus might break on a ſudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces againſt him. Theſe were his pretended motives for deſiring an accommodation; but the true reaſon was, his being apprehenſive that a new conſul would be appointed to ſucceed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war; a motive which commonly influenced the reſolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the public.

Finding that none of his reaſons could make the leaſt impreſſion on the allies, he put on the appearance of giving into their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. "Let us beſiege Sparta," ſays he, "ſince you think it "proper, and exert ourſelves to the utmoſt for the ſucceſs of

" our enterprise. As you are sensible that sieges often spin " out to a greater length than is generally desired, let us re- " solve to take up our winter quarters here, since it must be " so: this is a resolution worthy of your courage. I have a " sufficient number of troops for carrying on the siege; but the " more numerous they are, the greater supply of provisions and " convoys will be necessary. The winter, that is coming on, " exhibits nothing to us but a naked, ruined country, from " which we can have no forage. You see the great extent of " this city, and consequently the great number of catapultæ, " battering-rams, and other machines of all kinds that will be " wanting. Write each of you to your cities, in order that " they may furnish you speedily, in an abundant manner, with " all things necessary for us. We are obliged in honour to " carry on this siege vigorously; and it would be shameful for " us, after having begun it, to be reduced to abandon our en- " terprise." Every one then making his own reflections, perceived a great many difficulties he had not foreseen, and was fully sensible, that the proposal they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, as particulars in consequence would be obliged to contribute, out of their own purses, to the expence of the war. Changing therefore immediately their resolutions, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he should think proper, for the good of his republic, and the interests of the allies.

Upon this Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed, in concert with them, on the conditions of peace to be offered the tyrant. The chief were, that within 10 days Nabis should evacuate Argos, and all the rest of the cities of Argolis, garrisoned by his troops; that he should restore to the maritime cities all the galleys he had taken from them; and that he himself should keep only two feluccas, with 16 oars each: that he should surrender up to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves: that he should also restore to the Lacedæmonian exiles, such of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, but however without forcing them to do so: that he should give five hostages, to be chosen by the Roman general, of which his son should be one: that he should pay down 100 talents * of silver, and afterwards 50 talents annually, during eight years. A truce was granted for six months, that all parties might have time to send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

* 100,000 crowns.

The

The tyrant was not satisfied with any of these articles; but he was surprised, and thought himself happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raised a general sedition, from the necessity to which he reduced private persons, of restoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. Thus, no further mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintius was now resolved to carry on the siege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls, disdaining every other kind of fortification but the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only since the tyrants governed it, and that but in places which lay open, and were easy of access: all the other parts were defended only by their natural situation, and by bodies of troops posted in them. As Quintius's army was very numerous, consisting of above 50,000 men, because he had sent for all the land as well as naval forces, he resolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it on all sides, in order to strike the inhabitants with terror, and render them incapable of knowing on which side to turn themselves. Accordingly, the city being attacked on all sides at the same instant, and the danger being every-where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, either in giving orders, or in sending succours, which quite distracted him.

The Lacedæmonians sustained the attacks of the besiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, because pressing on one another, they could not stand firm on their feet, and had not their arms at liberty to discharge them with strength. The Romans drawing near the city, found themselves on a sudden overwhelmed with stones and tiles, thrown at them from the house-tops. However, laying their shields over their heads, they came forward in the form of the Testudo, or tortoise, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles: the Romans advanced into the broader streets, when the Lacedæmonians, being no longer able to sustain their efforts, nor make head against them, fled to the most craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames; the fire spread on all sides; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the

enemy. Such as were without the city, and attacked the wall, were forced to move at a diſtance from it; and thoſe who were got into the city, fearing that the ſpreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintius then cauſed a retreat to be ſounded; and after having almoſt taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, ſometimes by making new attacks, and at other times, by ſtopping up different places with works, in order that the beſieged might have no opportunity to eſcape, but be loſt to all hopes. Nabis, ſeeing things deſperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refuſed at firſt to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp: but the petitioner, throwing himſelf at his feet, after many entreaties, at laſt obtained a truce upon the ſame conditions as had been preſcribed before. Accordingly, the money was paid, and the hoſtages delivered to Quintius.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Argives, who, from the repeated advices they heard, imagined that Lacedæmonia was taken, reſtored themſelves to liberty, by driving out their garriſon. Quintius, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians, and his brother, who returned to their reſpective fleets, repaired to Argos, whoſe inhabitants he found in incredible tranſports of joy. The Nemæan games, which could not be celebrated at the uſual time, becauſe of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of it, and diſtributed the prizes in it, or rather, he himſelf was the ſhow. The Argives, eſpecially, could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely in their defence, had freed them from a cruel and ignominious ſlavery, and reſtored them to their ancient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleaſed to ſee the city of Argos again in alliance with them, and reſtored to all their privileges: but Sparta being ſtill enſlaved, and a tyrant ſuffered in the midſt of Greece, allayed their joy, and rendered it leſs perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed, that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From that ſhameful and inglorious treaty, for ſo they called it, they exclaimed in all places againſt the Romans. They obſerved, that in the war againſt Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till

till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece: that here, on the contrary, the uſurper was maintained in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Sparta; whilſt that the lawful king (meaning Ageſipolis), who had ſerved under the proconſul, and ſo many illuſtrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to paſs the remainder of their days in baniſhment. In a word, that the Romans had made themſelves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in theſe complaints, confined their views ſolely to the advantages of liberty: but in great affairs, men ſhould have an eye to all things, ſhould content themſelves with what they can execute with ſucceſs, and not attempt a thouſand ſchemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintius, as he himſelf will ſhow hereafter.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had ſet out to carry on the war with Sparta. He ſpent the whole winter in adminiſtering juſtice to the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and eſtabliſhing order in all places; things which, properly ſpeaking, are the real fruits of peace, the moſt glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on juſt and reaſonable motives. The ambaſſadors of Nabis, being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

* In the beginning of the ſpring, Quintius went to Corinth, where he had convened a general aſſembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he repreſented to them, the joy and ardour with which the Romans had complied with the entreaties of the Greeks when they implored their ſuccour, and had made an alliance with them, which he hoped neither ſide would have occaſion to repent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterpriſes of the Roman generals, his predeceſſors, and mentioned his own with a modeſty of expreſſion that heightened their merit. He was heard with univerſal applauſe, except when he began to ſpeak of Nabis; on which occaſion, the aſſembly, by a modeſt murmur, diſcovered their grief and ſurpriſe, that the deliverer of Greece ſhould have left, in ſo renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant, not only inſupportable to his his own country, but formidable to all the reſt of the cities.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the diſpoſition of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in few words. He confeſſed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have

* A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 194.

been done without hazarding the entire deſtruction of Sparta: but, as there was reaſon to fear that this conſiderable city would be involved in the ſame ruin with Nabis, he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weak and abandoned as he was, than perhaps to run the hazard, ſhould they employ too violent remedies, of deſtroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He added, to what he had ſaid of paſt tranſactions, that he was preparing to ſet out for Italy, and to ſend the whole army thither: that before ten days ſhould be at an end, they ſhould hear that the garriſons of Demetrias and Chalcis were evacuated, and that he would ſurrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth: that this would ſhow whether the Romans or Ætolians were moſt worthy of belief; whether the latter had the leaſt foundation for the report they ſpread univerſally, that nothing could be of more dangerous conſequence to a people, than to truſt the Romans with their liberties; and that they only ſhifted the yoke, in accepting that republic for their maſter inſtead of the Macedonians. He concluded with ſaying, that it was well known the Ætolians were not over-prudent and diſcreet either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words but actions; to be cautious whom they truſted, and againſt whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to uſe their liberty with moderation; that with this wiſe precaution, it was of the higheſt advantage to particular perſons as well as to cities; but that without moderation, it became a burden to others, and even pernicious to thoſe who abuſed it: that the chief men in the cities, the different orders that compoſe them, and the citizens themſelves in general, ſhould endeavour to preſerve a perfect harmony: that ſo long as they ſhould be united, neither kings nor tyrants would be able to diſtreſs them: that diſcord and ſedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, becauſe the party which finds itſelf weakeſt within, ſeeks for ſupport without, and chuſes rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than ſubmit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his ſpeech with conjuring them, in the mildeſt and moſt gentle terms, to preſerve and maintain, by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans ſenſible, that in reſtoring them to their freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to perſons unworthy of it.

This counſel was received as from a father to his children. Whilſt he ſpoke in this manner, the whole aſſembly wept for joy,

joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of all who were present. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive with gratitude and respect the words of the Roman general, as so many oracles, and preserve the remembrance of them in their hearts for ever.

After this, Quintius causing silence to be made, desired that they would enquire strictly after such Roman citizens as were in slavery in Greece, and send them to him in Thessaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave those in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the highest applauses, and thanked Quintius in particular for hinting to them so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very considerable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punic war; but the Romans refusing to redeem them, they had been sold. It cost the Achæans alone 100 talents, that is 100,000 crowns, to reimburse the masters the price they had paid for the slaves, at the rate of about * L. 12. 10s. an head; consequently the number amounted to 1200. The reader may form a judgment, in proportion, of all the rest of Greece. Before the assembly broke up, the garrison was seen marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintius followed it soon after, and withdrew in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who called him their saviour and deliverer, and implored heaven to bestow all possible blessings upon him.

He withdrew in the same manner the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in those cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Thessaly, where he found all things in the utmost disorder and confusion.

At last he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome entered it in triumph. The ceremony lasted three days, during which he exhibited to the people, amidst the other pomp, the precious spoils he had taken in the wars against Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, son of the former, and Armenes, of the latter, were among the hostages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the noblest ornament of it was, the Roman citizens delivered from slavery, who followed the victor's car, with their heads shaved, as a mark of the liberty to which they had been restored.

* 500 denarii.

SECT.

SECTION V.

ANTIOCHUS AND THE ROMANS PREPARE FOR WAR.—THE LATTER SEND TROOPS AGAINST NABIS.—HE IS KILLED.

Antiochus and the Romans were preparing for war *. Ambaſſadors were arrived at Rome, in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of Aſia Minor, and from ſeveral kings. They were favourably received by the ſenate; but as the affair of king Antiochus required a long examination, it was referred to Quintius and the commiſſioners who were returned from Aſia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both ſides. The ambaſſadors of the king were ſurpriſed, as their ſovereign had ſent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendſhip with the Romans, that the latter ſhould pretend to preſcribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch, and to nominate thoſe cities which he might keep, and ſuch as he was to abandon. Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many ſpeeches and replies, declared to the king's ambaſſadors, that the Romans perſiſted in the reſolution they had taken, to deliver the Grecian cities of Aſia, as they had done thoſe of Europe; and ſhould ſee whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They anſwered, that they could not enter into any engagement that tended to leſſen the dominions of their ſovereign. On the morrow, all the reſt of the ambaſſadors were again introduced into the ſenate. Quintius reported what had been ſpoken and tranſacted in the conference, and entreated each of them in particular, to inform their reſpective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their liberties againſt Antiochus, with the ſame ardour and courage as they had done againſt Philip. Antiochus' ambaſſadors conjured the ſenate, not to form any raſh reſolution in an affair of ſo much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and conſider things maturely on their ſide, before they paſſed a decree, in which the public tranquillity would be involved. They did not yet come to a deciſion, but deputed to the king Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the ſame ambaſſadors who had already conferred with him at Lyſimachia.

Scarce were they gone, but ambaſſadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the ſenate, that Antiochus, at the inſtigation of Hannibal, was certainly preparing to carry on the war againſt the Romans. I have obſerved before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and was arrived at his court at

* A M. 3811. Ant J. C. 193. Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 57—62.

the

the very inſtant the king was deliberating whether he ſhould embark in this war. The preſence and counſels of ſuch a general contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time (and he always perſiſted in it) was, that he ought to carry his arms into Italy: that by this means the enemy's country would furniſh them with troops and proviſions; that otherwiſe no prince nor people could be ſuperior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but 100 galleys, 10,000 foot, and 1000 horſe. He declared, that with his fleet he would firſt go into Africa, where he was perſuaded the Carthaginians would join him; but that, ſhould he not ſucceed in the latter, he would ſail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to diſtreſs the Romans; that it was neceſſary that the king ſhould go over into Europe with the reſt of his forces, and halt in ſome part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he ſhould always ſeem upon the point of doing it.

The king approving this project at firſt, Hannibal ſent a Tyrian, in whom he could confide, to Carthage, to found the citizens; for he did not care to venture letters, leſt they ſhould be intercepted; not to mention that buſineſs is tranſacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was diſcovered, and eſcaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian ſenate ſent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the ſame time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

* No people, at this time, hated the Romans more than the Ætolians. Thoas, their general, was for ever incenſing them; repreſenting, in the moſt aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them from their laſt victory, though chiefly owing to them. His remonſtrance had the intended effect; and Damocritus was ſent ambaſſador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus, Thoas' brother, to Antiochus, charged with particular inſtructions in regard to each of thoſe princes.

The firſt repreſented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by diſpoſſeſſing him of his maritime towns, as they furniſhed him with galleys, ſoldiers, and ſailors: that, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to ſee the Achæans reign over Peloponneſus: that he would never have ſo favourable an opportunity for recovering his ancient power, as that which then preſented itſelf: that

* A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 192. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 12.

the

the Romans had no army in Greece: that he might eaſily ſeize upon Gythium, which was ſituated very commodiouſly for him: and that the Romans would not think it worth while to ſend their legions again into Greece, to take a city of ſo little conſequence.

Nicander employed ſtill ſtronger motives to rouze Philip, who had been thrown down from a much ſuperior height of greatneſs, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant; beſides which, he enlarged on the ancient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and in what manner the whole world had been ſubdued by their arms: that the propoſal he made him would not expoſe him to any danger: that he did not deſire him to declare war, till Antiochus ſhould have paſſed into Greece with his army; and that if he (Philip), unaſſiſted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, ſuſtained ſo long a war againſt the Romans and the Ætolians united, how would it be poſſible for the Romans to reſiſt him, when he ſhould have concluded an alliance with Antiochus and the Ætolians? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the ſworn enemy to the Romans, of whoſe generals more had been defeated by him, than were living at that time.

Dicæarchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He obſerved particularly, that in the war againſt Philip, the Romans had taken the ſpoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætolians: that they alone had opened them an entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horſe and foot with which they would furniſh him; and the ſtrong towns and ſea-ports poſſeſſed by them. He did not ſcruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him againſt the Romans.

Theſe are the ſteps the Ætolians took, to raiſe up enemies againſt Rome on every ſide. However, the two kings did not comply with them at that time, and did not take their reſolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he ſent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and diſpatched thoſe who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintius, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately ſent deputies to the tyrant, to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans; and to exhort him

not

not to infringe a peace he had ſolicited ſo much. At the ſame time they ſent troops to Gythium, which the tyrant had already beſieged, and ambaſſadors to Rome, to inform the ſenate and people of what was doing.

* Antiochus did not yet declare himſelf openly, but took ſecret meaſures for promoting the great deſign he meditated. He thought it adviſeable to ſtrengthen himſelf by good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Paleſtine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes, and reſigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, but upon condition, as had been before ſtipulated, that he ſhould retain but half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have beſtowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refuſed her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance with ſo great a monarch would be a great ſupport to their houſe. However, Eumenes ſoon convinced them, by the reaſons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He repreſented, that ſhould he marry Antiochus' daughter, he would be under a neceſſity of eſpouſing his intereſt againſt the Romans, with whom he plainly ſaw this monarch would ſoon be at variance; that, ſhould the Romans get the better, as it was highly probable they would, he ſhould be involved in the ſame ruin with the vanquiſhed king, which would infallibly prove his deſtruction: that, on the other ſide, ſhould Antiochus have the advantage in the war, the only benefit that he (Eumenes) could reap by it, would be, that, having the honour to be his ſon-in-law, he ſhould be one of the firſt to become his ſlave; for they might be aſſured, that ſhould Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would ſubject all Aſia, and oblige all princes to do him homage: that they ſhould have much better terms from the Romans, and therefore he was reſolved to continue attached to their intereſts. The event ſhowed that Eumenes was not miſtaken.

After theſe marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Aſia Minor, and arrived at Epheſus in the depth of winter. He ſet out from thence again in the beginning of the ſpring to puniſh the Piſidians, who were inclined to revolt; af-

* Polyb. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 13—20. Appian. in Syriac. p. 88—92. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

ter

ter having ſent his ſon into Syria, for the ſecurity of the provinces in the Eaſt.

I have ſaid above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embaſſy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go firſt to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that he deſired nothing ſo much as a war with Antiochus. In times of peace, the having ſo powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very juſt alarm. In caſe of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the ſame fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined; or, ſhould the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes aſſured himſelf that part of his ſpoils and fortreſſes would be given him, which would enable him to defend himſelf, without any foreign aid, againſt his attacks: that after all, ſhould things take a different turn, he had rather run the worſt hazard, in concert with the Romans, than be expoſed, by breaking with them, to ſubmit either voluntarily, or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left ſick in Pergamus, Villius, who received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Piſidia, went to Epheſus, where he found Hannibal. He had ſeveral conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to perſuade him, that he had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from the Romans. He had better ſucceſs in the deſign he propoſed in that conduct, which was, by treating Hannibal with great courteſy, and making him frequent viſits, to render him ſuſpected to the king; which accordingly happened, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Livy, on the authority of ſome hiſtorians, relates that Scipio was in this embaſſy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made him the celebrated anſwer I have related elſewhere, when, ſpeaking of the moſt illuſtrious generals, he gave the firſt place to Alexander, the ſecond to Pyrrhus, and the third to himſelf. Some authors look upon this embaſſy of Scipio as improbable, and the anſwer of Hannibal to be more ſo.

Villius went from Epheſus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired, after having ended the war againſt the Piſidians. In their interview, they ſpoke on much the ſame topics, as thoſe on which the king's ambaſſadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus his eldeſt ſon. He returned to Epheſus to lament his loſs. But notwithſtanding theſe fine appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his ſhow of grief was merely political, and that he himſelf had ſacrificed

him

him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greateſt hopes, and had already given ſuch ſhining proofs of wiſdom, goodneſs, and other royal virtues, that he was the darling of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had ſent him from Epheſus into Syria, under the pretext of having an eye to the ſecurity of the provinces of the eaſt, and that he had cauſed ſome eunuchs to poiſon him there, to rid himſelf of his fears. A king, and at the ſame time a father, ought not to be ſuſpected of ſo horrid a crime, without the ſtrongeſt and moſt evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and ſorrow, was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered. The king ſent for them ſoon after. They had a conference with his miniſter, which ended in complaints on both ſides; after which they returned to Rome without having concluded any thing.

The inſtant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the preſent affairs; in which every one exclaimed againſt the Romans, knowing that to be the beſt method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtineſs of their demands, and ſaid it was ſtrange that they ſhould attempt to preſcribe laws to the greateſt monarch of Aſia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had a great aſcendant over the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they ſhould make war, but how and in what manner they ſhould carry it on; aſſured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in caſe he ſhould croſs into Europe, and ſettle in ſome part of Greece: that the Ætolians, who were in the centre of it, would be the firſt to declare againſt the Romans: that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis, on the one ſide, to recover what he had loſt, would raiſe all Peloponneſus againſt them; and that, on the other, Philip, who was ſtill more diſguſted, would not fail, at the firſt ſignal of war, to take up arms alſo: that they had no time to loſe; and that the deciſive point was, to ſeize upon the moſt advantageous poſts, and to make ſure of allies. He added, that Hannibal ought to be ſent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered ſuſpected to the king, was not ſummoned to this council. He had perceived on ſeveral other occaſions, that the king's friendſhip for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer repoſed the ſame confidence in him. However, he had a private

conference with him, in which he unboſomed himſelf without the leaſt diſguiſe. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had ſworn on the altars to be the eternal enemy of the Romans: "It is this oath," ſays he, "it is this hatred, that prompted "me to keep the ſword drawn during 36 years; it was the "ſame animoſity that occaſioned my being baniſhed from my "country in a time of peace, and forced me to ſeek an aſylum "in your dominions. If you defeat my hopes, guided by the "ſame hatred, which can never expire but with my life, I will "fly to every part of the world where there are ſoldiers and "arms, to raiſe up enemies againſt the Romans. I hate them, "and I am hated by them. As long as you ſhall reſolve to "make war againſt them, you may conſider Hannibal as the "firſt of your friends: but if there are any motives which in-"cline you to peace, take counſel of others, not of me." Antiochus, ſtruck with theſe words, ſeemed to reſtore him his confidence and friendſhip.

The ambaſſadors being returned to Rome, it appeared evidently from their report, that a war with Antiochus was inevitable; but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it againſt him. They did not act ſo cautiouſly with regard to Nabis, who had been the firſt to violate the treaty, and was then actually beſieging Gythium, and laying waſte the territories of the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was ſent with a fleet into Greece to protect the allies.

* Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that year. He was not inferior to any captain with reſpect to land ſervice, but had no ſkill in naval affairs. Notwithſtanding this, he took upon himſelf the command of the Achæan fleet †, and imagined that he ſhould be as ſucceſsful by ſea as he had been by land: but he learned to his coſt, not to depend ſo much upon his own judgment, and found how greatly uſeful experience is on all occaſions; for Nabis, who had fitted out ſome veſſels with expedition, defeated Philopœmen, and he narrowly eſcaped being

* A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxv. n. 25—30. Plut. in Philop. p. 363, 364.

† The great Prince of Condé thought and ſpoke much more wiſely.—In a converſation upon a ſea-fight, the prince ſaid, he ſhould be very glad to ſee one, purely for his own inſtruction. A ſea-officer, who was preſent, replied, "Sir, were your highneſs in a ſea-fight, there is no admiral but "would be proud of obeying your orders." "My orders!" interrupted the prince; "I ſhould not preſume even to give my advice, but ſhould "ſtand quietly on the deck, and obſerve all the motions and operations of "the battle, for my own inſtruction."

taken

taken prisoner. This disaster however did not discourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumspect for the future. Such is the use judicious men ought to make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greatest successes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen resolved, if possible, to make his joy of short duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having surprised him when he least expected him, he set fire to his camp, and made a great slaughter of his troops. In the mean time Gythium surrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtiness of the tyrant.

Philopœmen saw plainly that it was necessary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent, and no general equalled him in drawing up his army, in making choice of the posts, in taking all advantages, and improving all the errors of an enemy. On this occasion, fired by jealousy, and animated with revenge against Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the first attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed his greatest strength, broke the Achæans, threw them into disorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled, to draw the enemy into ambuscades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell into them; and whilst they were shouting as victorious, those who fled faced about; and the Achæans charged them on a sudden from their ambuscades, and made a great slaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in, from the rivulets and morasses with which it abounded, the general would not suffer his troops to abandon themselves to their ardour, in pursuing the enemy; but causing a retreat to be sounded, he encamped on that very spot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully persuaded, that as soon as it should be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire towards the city in small parties, he posted ambuscades in all the passes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them; so that Nabis hardly saved a fourth of his army. Philopœmen having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and, after having considerably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home, laden with spoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, because it was manifestly owing solely to his prudence and ability. A circumstance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him, and which young officers should propose to themselves as a model.

Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult paſs, he halted and aſked himſelf, in caſe he was alone, or elſe inquired of thoſe who were with him, in what manner it would be neceſſary to act, in caſe the enemy ſhould come ſuddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of battle; or in leſs order, as when an army is on its march; what poſt it would be proper for him to take? In what places to diſpoſe his baggage, and how many troops would be neceſſary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could beſt ſecure his forage, and provide water? What route he ſhould take the next day, after he ſhould decamp, and in what order it were beſt to march? He had accuſtomed himſelf ſo early, and exerciſed himſelf ſo much in all theſe parts of the military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and he never was diſconcerted by any unforeſeen accident, but reſolved and acted immediately, as if he had foreſeen every thing that happened. Theſe things form the great captain: but the only method to be ſuch is, to love one's profeſſion, to think it an honour to improve in it, to ſtudy it ſeriouſly, and to deſpiſe the common topics of diſcourſe of the indolent and inſignificant part of an army, who have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

* During this expedition of the Achæans againſt Nabis, the Ætolians had ſent ambaſſadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to croſs into Greece. They not only promiſed to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him, but alſo aſſured him, that he might depend upon Philip king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on ſeveral other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and would declare againſt them the moment of his arrival. Thoas, the firſt of the ambaſſadors, expatiated upon all theſe advantages in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pompous terms. He obſerved to him that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceleſs condition: that this would be the fineſt opportunity for him to poſſeſs himſelf of it: that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms: and that the inſtant he came among them, he would be maſter of the country. This ſoothing deſcription of the ſtate of the Grecian affairs made ſo deep an impreſſion on him, that he could ſcarce give himſelf time to deliberate in what manner it would be moſt proper for him to act.

* Liv. l. xxxv. n. 31—34.

The

The Romans, on the other side, who were not ignorant of the measures taken by the Ætolians to disengage their allies from their interest, and increase their enemies on all sides, had sent ambassadors into Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival, he found all the nations very well disposed with regard to the Romans, except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was spread of their intending to restore to Philip his son, who had been given them as an hostage, and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magnesians It was necessary to undeceive them, but in so dextrous a manner as not to disgust Philip, whom it was much more their interest to oblige. This Quintius effected with great address. The author of these false reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magistrate. As he let drop some harsh and injurious expressions against the Romans, which gave Quintius an opportunity of reproaching the Magnesians with their ingratitude, Zeno, one of the oldest among them, directing himself to Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors with tears, conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who, he said, ought only to be answerable for it: that the Magnesians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans not only for their liberty, but for whatever else is most dear and valuable among men; that as for themselves, they would sooner part with their lives, than renounce the friendship of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole assembly applauded this speech, and Eurylochus, perceiving plainly that there was no longer any safety for him in the city, took refuge amongst the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus' court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had sent as his ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was convened, these two had endeavoured in concert, to prepare and prepossess the people, by enlarging upon the king's forces by sea and land; his numerous bodies of horse and foot; the elephants he had caused to be brought from India; and above all (which was the strongest motive with regard to the populace), the immense treasures which the king would bring with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves.

Quintius had regular notice sent him of whatever was said or done in Ætolia. Though he looked upon all things as lost on that side, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, and to lay the wrong still more on the side of the Ætolians, he thought proper to depute to their assemblies some ambassadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with

the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus' ambaſſador might advance. He gave this commiſſion to the Athenians; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the Ætolians, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the aſſembly, by acquainting it that an ambaſſador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with ſaying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks, as well as Aſiatics, had Antiochus concerned himſelf ſooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then every people would have preſerved their rights, and all had not been ſubjected to the Roman power. "But ſtill," ſays he, "if you exe-"cute the deſigns you have formed, Antiochus may, by the aſ-"ſiſtance of the gods, and your aid, reſtore the affairs of Greece "to their ancient ſplendor, how deſperate ſoever their condition "may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themſelves, without ſaying a word of the king, with putting the Ætolians in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the ſervice Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them, not to form any raſh reſolution in an affair of ſo much importance as that in queſtion: that bold reſolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might have a pleaſing proſpect at firſt, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely ſucceſsful: that the Roman ambaſſadors, among whom was Quintius, were not far off: that as things were ſtill undecided, it would ſhow more wiſdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their ſeveral claims and pretenſions, than to involve precipitately Europe and Aſia in a war, of which the conſequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even againſt admitting the Romans into the aſſembly; ſo that the oldeſt and wiſeſt among them were forced to employ all their credit, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither, not ſo much from any hopes he entertained of being able to make the leaſt impreſſion on the minds of the people, as to prove to all mankind, that the Ætolians were the ſole cauſe of the war which was going to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it againſt their will, and merely through neceſſity. He began, by recalling to their memories the time in which the Ætolians had concluded an alliance with the Romans: he made a tranſient mention of the many things

by

by which they had infringed it; and after saying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of their quarrel, he only observed, that if they imagined themselves aggrieved, it would appear much more reasonable to make their remonstrances to the senate, who were always ready to hear their complaints, than out of mere wantonness to blow up a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would disturb the peace of the universe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of those who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his representations, which however were disregarded at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard with great attention, and obtained without delay, and even in presence of the Romans, that a decree should be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the Ætolians and Romans. Quintius desiring a copy of this decree, Damocritus, then in office, was so inconsiderate as to answer in the most insolent tone, that he had business of much greater consequence upon his hands at that time; but that he himself would soon carry this decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tiber: so violent and furious a spirit had seized all the Ætolians, and even their principal magistrates. Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors returned to Corinth.

The Ætolian privy-council formed, in one day, three very astonishing resolutions, to seize by a treacherous stratagem Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon; and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of these expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrias, where, being assisted by Eurylochus's faction, who was in exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himself master of the city.

But Thoas was not so successful in Chalcis, which he imagined he should be able to seize by the help of an exile: for the magistrates, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating against their city, put it in a good posture of defence, and enabled it to sustain a vigorous siege. Thus Thoas, failing in his design, returned back in the utmost confusion.

The enterprise against Sparta was much more delicate, and of greater importance. No access could be had to it but under the mask of friendship. Nabis had long solicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march 1000 foot thither. To these were added 30 young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrates to

execute

execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature soever they might be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day, and exercise them in the plains on the side of the Eurotas. One day, Alexamenes, having given the word to his troopers, attacks Nabis, whom he had purposely drawn into a solitary place, and throws him from his horse. Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, to lose no time, returns to the city to seize on Nabis' palace. Had he convened the assembly that instant, and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætolians: but he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night, in searching after the tyrant's treasures; and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans taking up arms, made a great slaughter of the Ætolians dispersed in quest of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprise against Sparta.

Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of Nabis's death, but he marched a considerable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them, as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged that city to join in the Achæan league.

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states, his having brought over to the league a city of so great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no small importance. By this means he also gained the friendship and confidence of the worthiest men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reason, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been sold, they resolved by a public decree, to make him a present of the monies arising from that sale, amounting to 120 talents, and sent him a deputation to desire his acceptance of them.

On this occasion, says Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great personage was of the purest and most perfect kind, and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really such: not one of the Spartans would undertake the commission of offering him that present. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excused themselves; and therefore it was at last resolved to send Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest.

When

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the houſe of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindeſt reception. Here he had an opportunity of conſidering the ſeverity of his whole conduct, the greatneſs of his ſentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was ſo aſtoniſhed at all he ſaw, that he did not dare ſo much as to mention to Philopœmen the preſent he was come to offer him; ſo that, giving ſome other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was ſent again, but was not more ſucceſsful than before. At laſt, going a third time, he ventured, but with great pain to himſelf, to acquaint Philopœmen with the good-will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity; but the inſtant he had done ſpeaking, he went to Sparta; where, after expreſſing the higheſt gratitude to the Spartans, he adviſed them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting ſuch of their friends as were men of probity, becauſe they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wiſdom without expence to them; but to keep their gold to purchaſe and corrupt the wicked, and thoſe who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their ſeditious diſcourſes; in order that being paid for their ſilence, they might not occaſion ſo many diſtractions in the government. "For it is much more adviſeable," added he, "to ſtop an enemy's mouth, than that of a friend." Such was the diſintereſtedneſs of Philopœmen. Let the reader compare theſe great and noble ſentiments with the baſeneſs of thoſe groveling wretches, whoſe whole ſtudy is to heap up riches.

Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus, and by the mighty promiſes he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the preſent ſtate of Greece, and eſpecially by the reſolutions which had been taken in the general aſſembly of the Ætolians, he determined him to ſet out immediately for that country. He went with ſuch precipitation, that he did not give himſelf time to concert the neceſſary meaſures for ſo important a war, nor carry with him a ſufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampſacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the Eaſt, brought only 10,000 foot and 500 horſe. Theſe troops would hardly have ſufficed, had he been to poſſeſs himſelf only of a naked and defenceleſs country, without having ſo formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppoſe.

He

He arrived firſt at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been ſent by the Ætolians and their ambaſſador, he went to Lamia, where their aſſembly was held. He was received there with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected; inſinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their intereſt, ſince, at the firſt ſignal they gave him, he was come, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations ſhould ſoon be anſwered: that as ſoon as the ſeaſon for navigation ſhould arrive, they ſhould ſee all Greece filled with arms, men and horſes, and all the ſea-coaſt covered with galleys: that he would ſpare neither expence, application, nor danger, for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire the Ætolians the firſt rank in it: that with his numerous armies, there would arrive from Aſia munitions of every kind: that all he deſired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be neceſſary for their preſent ſubſiſtence. Having ended his ſpeech, he withdrew.

The moſt judicious in the aſſembly ſaw plainly that Antiochus, inſtead of a real and preſent ſuccour, as he had promiſed, gave them little more than hopes and promiſes. They could have wiſhed that they had only choſen him arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas having gained a majority, cauſed Antiochus to be nominated generaliſſimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council, whenever he ſhould think proper to deliberate with them.

SECTION VI.

ANTIOCHUS POSSESSES HIMSELF OF CHALCIS AND ALL EUBOEA.—THE ROMANS PROCLAIM WAR AGAINST HIM.

The firſt ſubject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was*, with what enterpriſe to begin firſt. It was thought adviſeable to make a ſecond attempt on Chalcis: and thereupon the troops ſet out for that city without loſs of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians to have a conference with ſuch citizens of Chalcis, as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the ſtrongeſt terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declar-

* A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 46—51. Appian. in Syriac. p. 92, 93.

ed,

ed, that this prince was come into Greece, not to make it the ſeat of war, but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words, as the Romans had done: that nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both, becauſe that the one would always defend them againſt the other; and that by this means they would hold both in reſpect: that they would do well to conſider, in caſe they ſhould not agree to the propoſal now made them, the great danger to which they would expoſe themſelves; as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great diſtance; whereas the king was preſent, and at their gates.

Miction, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied, that he could not gueſs what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whoſe ſake he had left his kingdom, and was come into Greece: that he knew of no city garriſoned by Roman ſoldiers, nor that paid the leaſt tribute to the Romans, nor complained of being oppreſſed by them: that as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occaſion for a deliverer, as they were free; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the ſweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity of the Romans: that they did not refuſe the amity either of the king or of the Ætolians; but that, if they would ſhow themſelves friends, the firſt thing they were deſired to do was, to leave their iſland: that they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them, but in concert with the Romans.

This anſwer was reported to the king. As he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he reſolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a firſt ſtep did him no honour, and was no good omen with regard to the future.

They had recourſe elſewhere, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambaſſadors of Antiochus and thoſe of the Ætolians at Ægæ, where their aſſembly was held, in preſence of Quintius the Roman general.

Antiochus's ambaſſador ſpoke firſt. † He was a vain man, as thoſe generally are who live in the courts, and at the expence of princes; and fancying himſelf a great orator, he ſpoke with an abſolute and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that a vaſt body of cavalry was paſſing the Helleſpont into Europe,

* Is, ut plerique quos opes regiæ alunt, vaniloquus, maria terraſque inani ſonitu verborum compleverat. Liv.

conſiſting

conſiſting partly of cuiraſſiers, and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horſeback, turned about, and diſcharged their arrows with the ſureſt aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, were alone ſuperior to the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry: the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Caddusians, and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed it would be ſo large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing to be compoſed of Tyrians and Sidonians; the left of Aradians and the Sidetes of Pamphylia; nations, who were allowed univerſally to be the beſt and moſt experienced mariners in the world: that it would be to no purpoſe to enumerate the immenſe ſums which Antiochus was bringing with him; every one knowing that the kingdoms of Aſia had always abounded in gold: that they were to judge, in proportion, of the reſt of the military preparations: that in conſequence the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or an Hannibal; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with a prince who was ſovereign of all Aſia and part of Europe: that nevertheleſs, though he was come from the moſt remote parts of the Eaſt, purely to reſtore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans, that ſhould interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their firſt friends and allies: that he did not deſire them to unite their arms with his againſt the people in queſtion, but only to ſtand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambaſſador, ſpoke to the ſame effect; adding, that the ſafeſt and wiſeſt courſe the Achæans could take, would be to remain ſpectators of the war, and to wait in peace for the event, without ſharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches againſt the Romans in general, and againſt Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the ſafety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle, worthy a great captain? He declared, that he himſelf had obſerved him during the engagement wholly employed in conſulting the auſpices, in ſacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur or a prieſt, whilſt himſelf was expoſing his perſon and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preſervation.

To this Quintius anſwered, that it was plain which party

Archidamus